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# Annals of England;

## AN EPITOME OF ENGLISH HISTORY,

FROM COTEMPORARY WRITERS, THE ROLLS  
OF PARLIAMENT, AND OTHER  
PUBLIC RECORDS.

VOL. II.

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OXFORD,  
AND 377, STRAND, LONDON:  
JOHN HENRY AND JAMES PARKER.

M DCCC LVI.

**PRINTED BY MESSRS. PARKER, CORN-MARKET, OXFORD.**



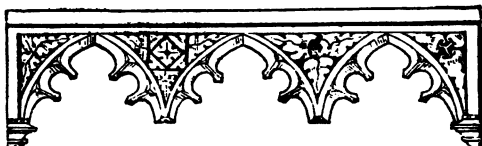
## Advertisement.

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**I**T was intended to complete this work in Two Volumes, but as the Compiler proceeded he found such limits too confined, without materially impairing its utility, and has therefore extended it to a Third Volume, which will close with the accession of the House of Brunswick.

To render the book serviceable to those who wish to study English History systematically, a classified list of authorities will be appended; numerous Notes and Illustrations will also be added, and, whenever practicable, from cotemporary sources.





## List of Illustrations.

---

	Page
BADGES of the House of Lancaster . . . . .	1
The Portcullis . . . . .	3
Henry IV. and Joan of Navarre, from their Monument at Canterbury . . . . .	4
Arms of Percy, earl of Northumberland . . . . .	6
—— Henry IV. . . . .	9
—— Neville, earl of Westmoreland . . . . .	11
—— Mortimer and De Burgh . . . . .	12
—— Lord Bardolf . . . . .	23
Henry V., from his Monument, Westminster Abbey . . . . .	28
Arms and Badges of Henry V. . . . .	31
—— of All Souls' College, Oxford . . . . .	33
Henry VI., from his Great Seal . . . . .	41
Margaret of Anjou, from a window, Bodleian Library . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Arms of De la Pole, earl of Suffolk . . . . .	42
—— Beaufort, duke of Somerset . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
—— Henry VI. . . . .	44
—— Archbishop Kempe . . . . .	47
—— Lincoln College, Oxford . . . . .	48
John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury . . . . .	49

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Page
Arms of Douglas . . . . .	52
——— Neville, earl of Salisbury . . . . .	55
——— Stafford, duke of Buckingham . . . . .	56
——— Neville, earl of Warwick . . . . .	58
——— Magdalen College, Oxford . . . . .	60
——— Clifford . . . . .	62
Badges of the House of York . . . . .	64
Crest of Mortimer . . . . .	71
Edward IV., from his Great Seal . . . . .	72
Arms of Woodville, Earl Rivers . . . . .	73
——— Edward IV. . . . .	76
——— De Vere, earl of Oxford . . . . .	84
Arms and Supporters of Edward V. . . . .	91
Arms of Lord Hastings . . . . .	92
Richard III., from his Great Seal . . . . .	95
Arms of Richard III. . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Badges of Richard III. . . . .	100
Arms of Howard, duke of Norfolk . . . . .	103
——— with the Flodden augmentation . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Badges of the Tudors . . . . .	108
Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, from their Monument, Westminster Abbey . . . . .	111
Arms and Badge of Henry VII. . . . .	115
Henry VIII., from his Great Seal . . . . .	134
Arms of Henry VIII. . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
——— Howard, duke of Norfolk . . . . .	138
Badges of Katherine of Arragon, Anne Boleyn, Jane Sey- mour, and Katherine Parr . . . . .	141

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Page
Arms of Stafford, duke of Buckingham . . . . .	155
——— Seymour . . . . .	179
——— the Kingdom of Ireland . . . . .	193
——— Christ Church, Oxford . . . . .	200
——— Edward the Confessor . . . . .	201
Edward VI., from his Great Seal . . . . .	202
Arms of Edward VI. . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
——— Dudley, duke of Northumberland . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Badge of Edward VI. . . . .	205
Philip and Mary, from their Great Seal . . . . .	221
Arms of Mary before her Marriage . . . . .	225
Badges of Mary . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Tomb of Sir Thomas Pope, in Trinity College Chapel . . . . .	244
Arms of Trinity College, Oxford . . . . .	245
——— St. John's College, Oxford . . . . .	246
Elizabeth, from her Great Seal . . . . .	249
Arms of Dudley, earl of Leicester . . . . .	254
——— Elizabeth . . . . .	257
Badges of Elizabeth . . . . .	258
Arms of Radcliff, earl of Sussex . . . . .	276
——— Jesus College, Oxford . . . . .	282
——— Devereux, earl of Essex . . . . .	312
Badges of the Stuarts . . . . .	325
James I., from his Great Seal . . . . .	329
Arms of James I. . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
National Flag of Great Britain . . . . .	348
Arms of Wadham College . . . . .	351
The Baronets' Badge . . . . .	352

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	Page
Arms of Pembroke College, Oxford . . . . .	360
Charles I., from his Great Seal . . . . .	361
Arms of Charles I. . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
——— Archbishop Laud . . . . .	363
Crest of Hamilton . . . . .	388
Oxford Siege Piece . . . . .	430



# THE PLANTAGENETS.

## HOUSE OF LANCASTER.



Badges of the House of Lancaster.



THE Lancastrian princes, who were three in number, and ruled for above sixty years, were without hereditary right to the crown, and possessed it only by virtue of a parliamentary settlement, which set aside a formal declaration of Richard II. in favour of Roger Mortimer, earl of March<sup>a</sup>, and which had been assented to by the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in the face of a claim made in the name of his son by John of Gaunt, and supported by the production of what were considered forged documents. Some years later, when the unhappy king was a prisoner in his hands, Henry of Lancaster again brought his rejected claim forward; but not choosing to trust to it alone, he mixed it up with complaints of Richard's misgovernment, and even some mention of conquest<sup>b</sup>,

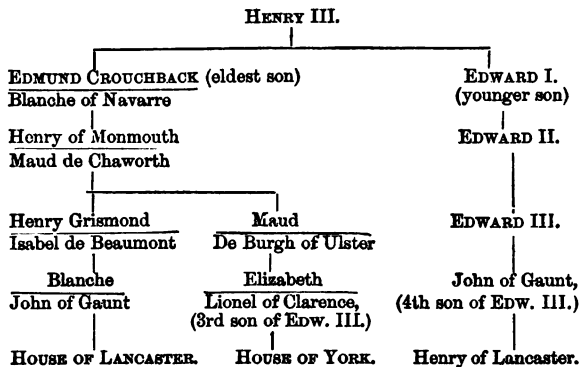
<sup>a</sup> See vol. i. p. 409.

<sup>b</sup> See his claim, as appearing on the Rolls of Parliament, vol. i. p. 418 of this work.

and was declared king on no intelligible principle, by his triumphant faction. Some years later he obtained a parliamentary recognition, [7 Hen. IV. c. 2,] in which the unquestionable right of the Mortimers is passed over in silence; and he transmitted the crown to his son<sup>c</sup>, whose warlike achievements promised to give him a second kingdom in France; but these expectations were frustrated by his premature death.

Both these princes were able men, well fitted to preserve their acquisitions; their successor was of a totally different character, and his weakness proved the ruin of his House. His ambitious uncles struggled for power during his long minority, and so neglected foreign affairs, that the French were enabled not only to recover their recent lost provinces, but also to regain others which had long been in the hands of the English, and the few that remained were alienated on the king's mar-

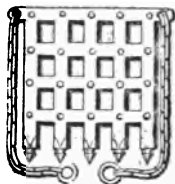
<sup>c</sup> The Lancastrian "claim by blood" is shewn in the annexed table.



riage with Margaret of Anjou. The grievous discontents thereby occasioned to a nation that had long looked on itself as rightful lord of France, added to many personal slights that he received from the new queen, and her favourite minister, Suffolk, induced Richard, duke of York<sup>d</sup>, who had hitherto served the king as governor of Normandy, to bring forward his claim to the throne as the representative of the Mortimers. The duke was killed in the struggle; his place, however, was well supplied by his son Edward, and very shortly after the sceptre passed from the feeble descendant of John of Gaunt.

An illegitimate branch of the house of Lancaster, the Beauforts<sup>e</sup>, rendered themselves conspicuous for courage and ability, and were firm supporters of the throne of their relatives. Cardinal Beaufort, John, earl of Dorset and duke of Exeter, Edmund, duke of Somerset, held high offices in the state, and Margaret, the daughter of John, duke of Somerset, was the mother of Henry, earl of Richmond, the first of the Tudor kings.

Beside devices peculiar to each prince, and the well-known symbol of the red rose, the columbine and the collar of SS. belong to the House of Lancaster. The portcullis, adopted by the Tudors, was a device of the Beauforts.



The Portcullis.

<sup>d</sup> See p. 65.

<sup>e</sup> They were the descendants of John of Gaunt by Katherine Swinford, but were legitimated by letters patent of Richard II., an act of parliament, and a papal decree. Richard's letters patent (Feb. 9, 1397) were confirmed by Henry IV., (Feb. 10, 1407,) but he of his own authority introduced a restrictive clause, "excepta dignitate regali," which now appears as an interlineation on the Patent Roll, (20 Ric. II. p. 2. m. 6.)



Henry IV.



Joan of Navarre.

*From their Monument at Canterbury.*

## HENRY IV.

HENRY, the only son of John of Gaunt, by Blanche, daughter of Henry Grismond, duke of Lancaster, was born at Bolingbroke, in Lincolnshire, in 1366. As Sir Henry of Lancaster, he was celebrated for his skill in martial exercises; he served in Barbary against the Mohammedans, in Lithuania against the pagan tribes on the shores of the Baltic, and made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. His bold, active, enterprising character contrasted strongly with that of Richard II., and he was a popular favourite, while regarded with jealous dislike by the king. He joined in the proceedings against the duke of Gloucester, and was in consequence created duke of Hereford; but quarrelling soon after with the duke of Norfolk, each accusing the other of expressing treasonable doubts of the king's intention towards them, both were banished.

The duke of Hereford withdrew to France, with a promise that he should not be deprived of his inheritance in the event of his father's death; but he allied himself with his former enemies, the fugitives of the duke of Gloucester's party, and thus perhaps induced the king to revoke the promise he had made. He returned to England, ostensibly to claim his inheritance, but being supported by powerful friends, and feebly opposed by the duke of York, the regent in the absence of the king in Ireland, he was enabled also to seize on the throne, and found a new royal house.

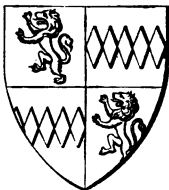
Henry was declared king, Sept. 30, 1399, and he held the sceptre for nearly fourteen years, amid all the difficulties and cruelties that usually attend a flagrant usurpation. His title was not recognised by foreign states, and he had little success in war<sup>f</sup>; he was repelled with scorn when attempting to form a marriage for his son Henry, with the youthful queen of his predecessor, and personally insulted by her kindred; numerous plots were formed against his life, and most barbarously punished; his parliaments remonstrated vehemently on his bad government<sup>g</sup>; his finances were throughout his reign in a deplorable condition;

<sup>f</sup> Among other promises made by Henry at his accession, had been one, that he would head an army against France, and lead it farther than his grandfather, Edward III., had ever done. He never performed this promise, but in the year 1411 he sent a considerable body of troops, under the duke of Clarence, to assist the duke of Burgundy against his rival, the duke of Orleans; in the following year he joined the Orleans faction, but the parties wisely effected a temporary agreement, in order to dispense with such dangerous aid.

<sup>g</sup> Beside procuring the removal of various obnoxious officers of the royal household, the Commons asserted their privileges with vigour, and succeeded in establishing their exclusive right of imposing taxes, and also of controlling the public expenditure.

his great friends the Percies<sup>b</sup> abandoned him; the Welsh foiled his attacks in person, and the Irish very

<sup>b</sup> Henry, lord Percy of Alnwick, served in France and in Flanders in the wars of the latter part of the reign of Edward III. He was rewarded with the office of marshal, and, acting in that capacity at the coronation of Richard II., he was created earl of Northumberland. Being also warden of the east marches, he was engaged in frequent hostilities with the Scots, and in 1378 captured Berwick, which he committed to the care of Sir Matthew Redman. Apprehending an attempt at its surprise, the earl directed Redman to admit no one without an order from himself; John of Gaunt passed that way, and was refused entry, of which he bitterly complained to the king; and when some time after a plot for seizing the place was discovered, he charged the earl with treason, and endeavoured to procure his condemnation; the accusation, however, was disbelieved, and Northumberland was employed in negotiating a treaty of peace with France. He was subsequently reconciled to John of Gaunt (who was his kinsman by marriage), and warmly espoused the cause of his son, Henry of Lancaster; he thus became an object of suspicion to Richard II., was summoned to court, and not appearing, his estates were forfeited; the king, however, went on his second expedition to Ireland without seizing them, and Henry landed, and became king, mainly by the aid of Northumberland, who received vast grants, such as the Isle of Man, the justiceship of Chester, and many castles in Wales, while the Isle of Anglesey was bestowed on his son Hotspur. They together defeated the Scots at Homildon, in 1402, and captured the earl of Douglas, but either repenting of the part they had acted against Richard, or offended at the refusal of Henry to allow them to treat for the liberation of their kinsman, Sir Edmund Mortimer, from the hands of Glyndwr, they resolved to dethrone the usurper. It is probable, however, that meaner motives also actuated them. Henry's grants had been large, but he had left them to conduct the Welsh and Scottish wars on their own resources; and Henry Percy complains, in a letter dated June 26, 1403, remaining among the Privy Council Records, that "£20,000 and more" was owing to his father and himself on that account. The great difficulty of Henry's reign, as is abundantly evident from the same class of documents, was want of money; their claim was left unpaid, and they took up arms. Their enterprise miscarried; young Percy was killed at Shrewsbury, but the earl obtained a pardon; he soon after joined Archbishop Scrope's rising, was in consequence obliged to flee to Scotland, and subsequently to Wales, and being after a while induced to return to England, was defeated and killed at Bramham-moor, near Leeds, Feb.



Arms of Percy, earl of Northumberland.

nearly threw off the English yoke; and he was at variance with his eldest son, who manifested some desire to depose him. At length, worn out by repeated attacks of epilepsy, he died March 20, 1413, and was buried at Canterbury.

Henry was twice married: first, to Mary de Bohun, youngest daughter and coheiress of Humphrey, earl of Hereford; and secondly, to Joan of Navarre, who survived him till 1437. His issue, who were all by his first

19, 1408. His body was quartered and the portions set up in London, Lincoln, Berwick, and Newcastle; but after a few months they were taken down by permission of Henry, and delivered to his friends for burial.

The earl's son, Henry, was, when quite young, associated with his father in the charge of the Scottish marches, and there his well-known appellation of Hotspur was acquired. In 1385 he was sent to succour Calais, and made many daring incursions into Picardy; afterwards served at sea, then killed the earl of Douglas at Otterburn, but was himself captured, through pursuing his advantage too far. He soon obtained his freedom, and in 1389 passed over to Calais, and thence into Brittany, being retained as the king's soldier at the rate of £100 per annum. He joined Henry, and received from him the wardenship of the east marches, the justiceship of North Wales, and the Isle of Anglesey, but afterwards fell in arms against him at Shrewsbury. His son Henry, after many years of exile in Scotland, was restored to his title and estates in 1414, and was killed fighting on the Lancastrian side at the first battle of St. Alban's, in 1455.

Thomas Percy, the younger brother of the earl, served in France under the Black Prince, and was seneschal of the Limousin. He was afterwards made admiral of the north sea, and captain of Calais. He was also admiral of the fleet that conveyed the earl of Buckingham's troops to Brittany in 1380. His fleet was dispersed by a storm, and his own ship disabled; while in that condition, it was attacked by a Spanish vessel of greatly superior force, but Sir Thomas captured his opponent by boarding, carried his prize into port, and sold it, with the money replaced the equipment which the troops he had on board had lost, and led them in gallant order to join the earl. He afterwards became steward of the household to Richard II., and was created earl of Worcester, but treacherously forsook him on his return from Ireland, and received from Henry IV. the lieutenancy of Wales. He joined in the fatal enterprise of his brother and nephew, and being taken at Shrewsbury, was beheaded the day after.

wife, (she died in 1394, at the age of 24,) were four sons and two daughters; viz.

1. HENRY, who succeeded him.

2. Thomas, born in 1389, was appointed lieutenant of Ireland in 1401, and created duke of Clarence in 1412. He served in France in that year, and also under his brother, and was killed at Beauge, in Anjou, March 22, 1421. He left no issue by his wife, Margaret, daughter of Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, and relict of John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, but his natural son, Sir John of Clarence, had a grant of several manors in Ireland from Henry VI., by patent dated July 11, 1427.

3. John, born in 1390, was appointed constable of England in 1403, and was created duke of Bedford in 1415. His talents upheld the English rule in France, and he died regent of that kingdom, at Paris, Sept. 14, 1435. He married, first, Anne, sister of Philip, duke of Burgundy, and soon after her death, (which occurred Nov. 14, 1432,) Jaqueline of Luxemburg, who survived him until 1472, and became the wife of Sir Richard Woodville, and mother of Elizabeth, the queen of Edward IV.

4. Humphrey, born in 1391, was created duke of Gloucester in 1414. He was protector of England during the minority of his nephew, Henry VI., was involved in foreign wars through an imprudent marriage, opposed by his uncle, Cardinal Beaufort<sup>1</sup>, and at last was

<sup>1</sup> He was the third son of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swinford. He entered the Church, became dean of Wells, and when young was promoted to the see of Lincoln; he succeeded Wykeham as bishop of Winchester, and in later years was made cardinal and papal



found dead in his bed, under suspicious circumstances, Feb. 1447. He married, but was afterwards divorced from, Jaqueline of Holland; his second wife, Eleanor, daughter of Lord Cobham, was accused of witchcraft and treason, and after doing penance in London, was imprisoned, first at Calais, and afterwards in the Isle of Man, for the remainder of her life. He left a natural daughter, Antigone, who married Henry Grey, earl of Tankerville.

5. Blanche, born in 1392, was married when only ten years old to Louis, son of the emperor Rupert, and died in childbed, May 22, 1409.

6. Philippa, born in 1393, married Eric XIII., of Denmark. She acted with wisdom and courage as regent of the kingdom while Eric made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and defended Copenhagen from an attack of the Holsteiners, but failing in an attempt on Stralsund, their stronghold, she was brutally beaten by her savage husband, and died of grief in the monastery of Wadstena very shortly after, Jan. 5, 1430j.

Henry bore the same arms as his grandfather, Edward III., viz., ancient France and England quarterly.



Arms of Henry IV.

legate. He was esteemed a profound canonist, held the office of chancellor thrice, was employed on frequent embassies, and made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He was for many years at variance with his nephew Gloucester, and died very shortly after him, April 11, 1447.

Eric, who was half-witted, and had before been saved from expulsion by the popularity of his queen, was soon after driven from his kingdom; he lived for a while as a pirate in Gothland, but ended his days in the monastery of Rugenvald, in Pomerania.

Supporters, a lion and antelope, also an antelope and swan, are ascribed to him, but on doubtful authority. Beside the collar of SS.<sup>k</sup> numerous badges and devices, as a genet, an eagle displayed, crescents, the fox's tail, panthers and eagles crowned, appear to have been employed by him.

It is impossible to form a favourable estimate of the character of Henry. Great talents he no doubt had, but it seems equally certain that he had few virtues<sup>l</sup>. His persecution of the Lollards, whose patron he had formerly been, and whose dislike to Richard had been so serviceable to himself, proved him utterly devoid of care for any interests but his own; his seizure and imprisonment of the prince of Scotland, and siding alternately with one and the other party in France, shewed him wanting in honourable feeling; his cruelty was signally manifested in many instances; and perhaps the most that can with truth be said for him, is, that he probably was not guilty of the murder of his predecessor; as has been often charged on him.

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A.D. 1399. Henry of Lancaster is received as king by the parliament, Sept. 30<sup>m</sup>. He creates his eldest

<sup>k</sup> His tomb at Canterbury is covered with this ornament, which is known to have been borne by him when earl of Derby; it is presumed to stand for "Souveraigne," and to have been meant as an assertion of his claim to the throne.

<sup>l</sup> If credit could be given to the speech ascribed to Richard in confinement by a French chronicler, (published by the English Historical Society,) Henry was guilty of so many crimes, that even his own father wished him to be put to death, but the king spared him, against the advice of his counsellors.

<sup>m</sup> Archbishop Arundel preached a sermon on the occasion, taking for his text 1 Samuel ix. 17, "Behold the man whom I spake to thee of; this same shall reign over My people."

son prince of Wales, and appoints the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland<sup>a</sup> constable and marshal.

The parliament re-assembles at Westminster, Oct. 6, and sits till Nov. 19. Most of the transactions of the late king and his ministers since the year 1386 are set aside as illegal<sup>o</sup>; a general pardon is granted, except to the murderers of the duke of Gloucester<sup>p</sup>; special favour is promised to the Londoners for "their good and loyal behaviour;" and, (Oct. 27,) at the

<sup>a</sup> Ralph, lord Neville, had been created earl of Westmoreland by Richard II., after the murder of the duke of Gloucester, and had received other favours; but he was the brother-in-law of Henry of Lancaster, and rendered him most essential service against his benefactor. He joined him on his landing, was appointed earl marshal, and governor of the Tower, and adhered to him against his old associates and kinsmen, the Percies; prevented the earl of Northumberland from joining his son, Hotspur; checked the incursions of the Scots; and, by gross treachery, got Archbishop Scrope, the earl of Nottingham, and others of Richard's partisans, into his hands. He died Oct. 21, 1425, and was buried at Staindrop, in the county of Durham, where a stately monument to his memory yet remains. He married, for his second wife, Joan Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, and by her he had a numerous family, of whom Richard became earl of Salisbury, and father of "king-making Warwick;" Cecilia married Richard, duke of York, father of Edward IV.; Eleanor married Henry, earl of Northumberland, killed at St. Alban's, in 1455; and Anne was the wife of Humphrey, duke of Buckingham, killed at Northampton. He was succeeded by his grandson, Ralph, who married a daughter of Hotspur.



Arms of Neville, earl of Westmoreland.

<sup>o</sup> The attainder of the duke of Gloucester and his adherents was reversed, and most of the nobles (including king Richard's half-brother and nephew) who after the duke's condemnation had received higher titles, (see vol. i. p. 415,) were reduced to their former ones; the commons indeed requested that they might be put to death: the earls of Huntingdon, Kent, and Salisbury, and Lord Despenser, were in consequence imprisoned, but they were soon released.

<sup>p</sup> One of them, John Hall, was executed, and his head sent to Calais.

instance of Henry, "Richard, late king of England," is sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, "to be kept secretly in safe ward<sup>1</sup>."

The new king creates a number of Knights of the Bath, three of his sons being among them, Oct. 11<sup>r</sup>; he is crowned at Westminster, Oct. 13.

Thomas Arundel is formally restored to the see of Canterbury<sup>2</sup>.

The Isle of Man, lately forfeited by Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, is granted to the earl of Northumberland<sup>3</sup>.

Edmund Mortimer, earl of March<sup>4</sup>, retires to the

<sup>1</sup> This parliament was one of the most violent recorded in our annals. The nobles charged each other (and with good reason) with falsehood and disloyalty, and more than forty gauntlets were thrown on the floor, as pledges of combats, but it does not appear that they took place.

<sup>2</sup> This is presumed to be the date of the regular establishment of the order, although its distinguishing feature, the bath, had long been one of the ceremonies attendant on the admission of knights.

<sup>3</sup> This is the date of the letters patent, but he seems to have been received as archbishop immediately on his return, in July or August.

<sup>4</sup> This and other great gifts bestowed by the new-made king on his chief supporters occasioned the repeated remonstrances of the parliament, and statutes were passed to check the evil; thus it was enacted, that in any petition for grants of land, mention should be made of their value, [1 Hen. IV. c. 6,] and of what the petitioner had received before, [2 Hen. IV. c. 2,] but these restrictions were evidently disregarded, as we meet with another statute soon after against undue grants, [4 Hen. IV. c. 4]. The royal family was exempted from the operation of these statutes, [6 Hen. IV. c. 2]. Henry created his eldest son prince of Wales; of his other sons, one was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, another constable of England, and all received large portions of the estates which confiscation had placed in his hands.

<sup>5</sup> He was the son of Roger Mortimer, killed in Ireland in 1398, and presumptive heir to the throne. His friends leagued



Arms of Mortimer and De Burgh.

Welsh marches; his brother and sister are imprisoned at Windsor.

The kings of France and Scotland refuse to recognise Henry as king, and prepare for an invasion of England, alleging the truces to have expired with the deposition of Richard.

The threatened invasion never took place, but the subjects of both crowns carried on for years a course of depredations on the English coasts. In particular, Waleran, count of St. Pol<sup>v</sup>, fitted out a strong fleet, which kept the southern and eastern shores in constant alarm, the Scots cruised in the northern seas, and the Bretons and Spaniards<sup>w</sup> ravaged the west. Henry's remonstrances being disregarded, for these freebooters were not to be controlled by their feeble sovereigns<sup>x</sup>, private individuals and towns in England fitted out ships, to retaliate on the enemy, and the narrow seas soon became one scene of piracy. The parliament at various times granted sums for the defence of the coasts, but these were generally understood to be misapplied by the king's officers, and the English trade was nearly destroyed; at length in 1406, a body of

with the Percies and Glyndwr in behalf of his right, but he abandoned the contest, made his submission, betrayed the counsels of his adherents, and lived a humble dependant on the Lancastrian princes, until the time of his death. He died of the plague, in the castle of Trim, in Ireland, in 1424, holding at the time the office of lord-lieutenant. His sister Anne was the mother of Richard, duke of York.

\* He had resided in England, both as a prisoner and as an ambassador, and had married a half-sister of King Richard.

† The Spaniards were the subjects of the king of Navarre (Charles III.), who was nearly related to the king of France.

‡ Charles VI. of France and Robert III. of Scotland were both mere puppets in the hands of their unprincipled relatives, the dukes of Orleans, Burgundy, and Albany.

merchants came forward, who offered to undertake the guardianship of the seas for a term, if certain subsidies were paid into their hands, instead of to the exchequer<sup>r</sup>.

A.D. 1400. The earls of Huntingdon, Kent, and Salisbury, Lord Despenser, and others league together to release king Richard, and murder Henry at a tournament at Oxford; the plot is betrayed by the earl of Rutland<sup>s</sup>, Jan. 4.

Henry flees from Windsor, and raises an army of Londoners; the earls withdraw towards the west, but entering Cirencester (in the evening of Jan. 6,) without their forces, they are assailed by the townsmen, some killed, others captured, and the rest put to flight<sup>a</sup>.

Henry proceeds as far as Oxford with his forces, when Sir Benet Shelley, and Sir Thomas Blount, (personal attendants of king Richard<sup>b</sup>,) and about thirty others taken

<sup>r</sup> This expedient failed; the merchants' admirals (Richard Clyderow and Nicholas Blackburne) were soon dismissed by the king, and replaced by his half-brother Thomas, earl of Dorset, who also held the incongruous office of lord chancellor.

<sup>s</sup> Son of Edmund, duke of York; he afterwards bore that title himself, and was killed at Agincourt.

<sup>a</sup> John Cosin, the constable of the town, was rewarded with a pension of 100 marks, and the townsmen received all the goods and chattels of the slain; even the women were gratified with a gift of six does and a hogshead of wine. The earl of Kent was killed in the skirmish; the earl of Salisbury was beheaded there without trial, Jan. 7, as was Sir Ralph Lumley, Jan. 10; Despenser fled to Wales, but trying to leave the country, he was carried, after a desperate resistance, to Bristol, and beheaded there Jan. 10; the earl of Huntingdon escaped, but was seized a few days after at Prittlewell, in Essex, and being carried before the countess of Hereford, (mother-in-law to Henry and sister of the earl of Arundel and the archbishop,) was beheaded by her order, and in her presence, at Pleshy, Jan. 15 or 16. The heads of the slain were sent to London, and placed on the bridge.

<sup>b</sup> It is probable that Richard escaped at this time from Pomfret, but his friends were crushed before he could join them, and he had no resource but to flee to Scotland. See vol. i. p. 400.

at Cirencester, are executed<sup>c</sup>. Some others are sent to London for trial.

The displaced archbishop of Canterbury (Walden), and bishop of Carlisle (Merks), the abbot of Westminster (William de Colchester), Feriby and Maudelyn (Richard's chaplains), Sir Bernard Brocas and Sir Thomas Shelley, are brought to trial in the Tower, (Feb. 4,) and condemned. The lives of the prelates are spared<sup>d</sup>; but the rest are executed the same evening by torchlight.

### WALES.

Though the new king had thus crushed many of his enemies, his throne was by no means safe. While preparing to meet the French and the Scots, he learned that the Welsh had taken up arms, and commenced a desperate effort to throw off the English yoke, or at least to get rid of the tyranny of the lords marchers, whose rule appears to have been almost as intolerable as that of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland. Their leader was Owen Glyndwr, a man whose abilities and enterprise have not been duly estimated<sup>e</sup>. The struggle was

<sup>c</sup> The heads and quarters of eight of these, parboiled, with twelve prisoners for trial, were sent to London, preceded by music, and there received by the archbishop (Arundel) and many other prelates, who chanted the *Te Deum*, "and the men of London cheered, and made great rejoicings."

<sup>d</sup> Walden was at once set at liberty, and was afterwards made bishop of London; Colchester was allowed to hold his office, till his death, in 1420; Merks's subsequent history has been already noticed (see vol. i. p. 418). Feriby and Maudelyn are named executors in Richard's will, and the latter, it is said, had personated the king at Cirencester. Brocas had been comptroller of Calais, and Shelley master of the household to the earl of Huntingdon.

<sup>e</sup> It is to be regretted that historians have devoted so little attention to the career of this remarkable man. Taking their tone from

eventually unsuccessful, but the fact that it was protracted for full fifteen years is sufficient to shew that it was well maintained, and that its chances and changes of success and failure are deserving of more attention than they have hitherto received.

Glyndwr was the great-grandson of the last native prince (Llewelyn), and was born probably in 1349; he possessed considerable estates in Merioneth and the adjoining districts<sup>f</sup>. As was then customary with the young gentry, he came to London, and joined one of the inns of court, became squire of the body to Richard II., was knighted by him in 1387, and was one of his attendants when seized at Flint Castle. He was allowed to retire to his country, but was molested by Lord Grey of Ruthin, one of the marchers, who, presuming on his favour as a zealous Lancastrian, seized some lands which Glyndwr had several years before gained from him by a lawsuit; Glyndwr's appeal to the parliament was disregarded; Grey, instead of being obliged to make restitution, obtained a grant of other portions of his property, but was himself captured while attempting to take possession.

The Welsh chieftain acted with vigour and success; he at once invaded the marches, and defeated and made prisoner Sir Edmund Mortimer, the uncle of the earl of March. The Welsh flocked to him from England, he captured many strong castles, (as Conway, Ruthin,

the Lancastrian or Tudor chroniclers, they dismiss him as "the wretched rebel Glendower," although his title to reign in Wales was far better than that of his opponent in England; for a considerable time he was *de facto* prince of Wales, and was recognised as such by the king of France, who studiously avoided bestowing the regal style on Henry.

<sup>f</sup> His ancestral residence was Sychart, near Corwen. .



Radnor, and Oswestry,) and soon formally assumed the title of Prince of Wales, was crowned at Machynlleth, and as a sovereign prince entered into a treaty with the Mortimers and Percies, having for its object the overthrow of Henry. This alliance was dissolved by the battle of Shrewsbury, but Glyndwr maintained the contest<sup>s</sup>; he repelled three formidable armies led by Henry in person<sup>h</sup>, expelled bishops and appointed others, captured many of the most considerable of the "English towns"<sup>i</sup> and castles, received aid from France and from Scotland, and marched with his French allies as far as Worcester.

Henry of Monmouth (afterwards Henry V.) had some success against Glyndwr, but was unable to effect his subjugation, and several years after, when about to embark on his expedition against France, unwilling apparently to leave so active an enemy behind him, he endeavoured to enter into an arrangement with him. While the terms were in debate, Glyndwr died, at Monnington, in Herefordshire, Sept. 20, 1415. His sons concluded the negociation, the terms of which were probably far less favourable than they would have been had he lived, as Glyndwr is still spoken of as attainted in a statute of the next reign, [9 Hen. VI. c. 3].

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A.D. 1401. An act passed against the Lollards [2 Hen. IV. c. 15]; no one was to preach without the

<sup>s</sup> He was attainted, and proclaimed an outlaw, at the parliament in 1408.

<sup>h</sup> Henry on each occasion met with bad weather, which the chroniclers ascribe to the magic arts of his opponent.

<sup>i</sup> See vol. i. p. 346.

bishop's license, and persons accused of heretical opinions were to be judged by the diocesan, and punished at the king's pleasure, if they recanted; but if not, to be burnt.<sup>1</sup>

William Sautre, a London clergyman, is burnt under this statute, Feb. 12.

Several statutes passed in relation to the rising in Wales. Welshmen, and Englishmen married to Welshwomen, are disabled to hold office or to purchase lands, either in England, or in the "borough or English towns" in Wales<sup>k</sup>, [2 Hen. IV. cc. 16—20].

David, the prince of Scotland, being imprisoned by his father's order, dies soon after at the palace of Falkland, April 3<sup>l</sup>.

Glyndwr ravages the marches and the English districts. Henry marches against him in June, when Glyndwr retires to a strong post at Corwen.

Henry finds Glyndwr's position unassailable; he invades Scotland and burns Edinburgh, in August; then returns into Wales in October, but is again obliged to withdraw without bringing Glyndwr to a battle.

## IRELAND.

A.D. 1401. Thomas of Lancaster appointed lieutenant of Ireland, June 27; he lands there Nov. 13.

<sup>1</sup> A similar act was passed in Scotland in 1425; it ordains that "heretics and Lollards shall be punished as the law of Holy Church requires."

<sup>k</sup> These statutes were confirmed in a body in 1447 (25 Hen. VI. c. 1), all grants of franchises contrary thereto being at the same time declared void.

<sup>l</sup> He was a youth of dissolute character. The manner of his death is not known, but he was generally supposed to have been starved to death by his uncle, the duke of Albany.

The disorders of Ireland were not redressed by the Ordinance of 1357<sup>m</sup>, and in 1361, Lionel (afterwards duke of Clarence) was appointed lieutenant. The inheritance of his wife (Elizabeth de Burgh, countess of Ulster,) had been seized and partitioned according to the Irish law by her relatives, and he was thus strongly prejudiced against the Anglo-Irish, who opposed him in arms, but were brought to a nominal subjection, through the help that he received from England. They disclaimed submission as soon as he had left the country, and though he returned in 1366, and passed the famous Statute of Kilkenny<sup>n</sup>, it was entirely disregarded. Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, (the husband of his daughter Philippa,) succeeded him as lieutenant, Jan. 24, 1379, but died Dec. 26, 1380, when the government was granted to his son Roger, (Jan. 24, 1381,) but he being a minor, his uncle, Sir Thomas Mortimer, acted as his deputy. In 1386 Richard II. resorted to the desperate expedient of granting the "entire dominion" of Ireland to his favourite, Robert de Vere, on condition of his achieving its complete conquest, but nothing was done towards that end, and at length the king himself passed over, landing at Waterford, in October, 1394, with a considerable army. The Anglo-Irish kept aloof, but the native chiefs very generally submitted, acknowledged their feudal dependence, engaged to serve the king in his wars, and promised also to quit the province of Leinster. Richard returned to England, leaving the earl of March as his lieutenant, who attempted to enforce this last stipulation, but was stre-

<sup>m</sup> See vol. i. p. 391.

<sup>n</sup> See vol. i. p. 394.

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nuously resisted, and at last defeated and killed at Kenlys, in Ossory, July 20, 1398. The news of this disaster brought Richard a second time to Ireland, but before he could effect anything he was recalled to England by the landing of Henry of Lancaster.

The Scots now leagued with the Irish, effected several settlements in the north, and defeated a fleet which the citizens of Dublin had fitted out against them°. Thomas of Lancaster next assumed the government, which he held until Sept. 1413, sometimes in person, sometimes by deputy. He laboured zealously, though with little success, to make the royal authority paramount; he introduced many new English colonists, resumed crown demesnes, contended with various fortune against both the Irish and Anglo-Irish, and was assisted by an annual subsidy of 7,000 marks from England; but he at length was desperately wounded in a battle under the walls of Dublin, and obliged to withdraw, when the English pale became in effect tributary to its so-called subjects, the "mere Irish" and the Anglo-Irish<sup>p</sup>, and remained in that condition until the time of Henry VIII.

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A.D. 1402. Reports spread that King Richard is

° The citizens equipped another fleet in 1405, which was more successful. It ravaged the coasts not only of Scotland, but of Wales, at that time under the rule of Glyndwr.

<sup>p</sup> The Anglo-Irish and the natives were bitterly hostile to each other, and thus alone was the royal authority preserved from extinction. In 1429 the Irish Parliament voted a petition to the king, requesting him to endeavour to induce the pope to publish a crusade against the natives, on the plea that they had not adhered to their submission made to Henry II., two centuries and a half before. In revenge, M'Donough, the dynast of Leinster, ravaged the pale with fire and sword, and was repulsed with extreme difficulty, the famous Talbot being absent in the French wars.

alive in Scotland, and of an intended French invasion in his favour; Sir Roger Clarendon, his natural brother, and others are executed.

Glyndwr ravages the marches, and defeats and captures Sir Edmund Mortimer<sup>1</sup>, June 22.

Henry again marches into Wales, but is obliged to retire with loss.

The Scots invade England, in July, announcing that King Richard is with them. They are defeated by Henry Percy (called Hotspur) at Homildon-hill, near Wooller, Sept. 14, and the earl of Douglas and other nobles taken.

Henry offends the Percies, and they meditate his overthrow.

A.D. 1403. The Percies and the Mortimers confederate with Glyndwr to restore Richard, if alive, or to place the earl of March on the throne, in case of his decease.

The French make a descent on the Isle of Wight.

The Percies march to join Glyndwr, but are intercepted by Henry, and defeated at the place called Hateley-field, near Shrewsbury, July 23. Henry Percy is killed; his uncle, Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, being taken, is beheaded, July 25<sup>2</sup>.

A body of French land in Wales and burn Tenby, in July; they then join Glyndwr.

<sup>1</sup> Uncle of the earl of March, the king, or heir to the throne, according as Richard was or was not alive; the real state of the case not being apparently known to the parties.

<sup>2</sup> Glyndwr was at the time besieging Caermarthen, and was not hindered from joining his confederates by a flood in the Severn, as is commonly stated. The earl of Northumberland, who was on the way to support his son, hearing of his death, disbanded his army, made his submission, and was pardoned, (Aug. 11,) but being deprived of the Isle of Man, and his strongest castles, he withdrew into Scotland shortly after. The chief person killed on Henry's side was Edmund Stafford, earl of Buckingham, son-in-law of Thomas, duke of Gloucester.

Plymouth is burnt by the Bretons; and at the same time Brittany is ravaged by English ships.

“Minstrels or vagabonds” forbidden to make assemblies in Wales, [4 Hen. IV. c. 27]. The Welsh in general ordered to be disarmed<sup>a</sup> [c. 28].

Richard Yonge, bishop of Bangor, is expelled from his see by Glyndwr<sup>†</sup>.

A.D. 1404. The commons propose to seize the temporalities of the Church, when the archbishop (Arundel) appeals to Henry, and the plan is dropped<sup>u</sup>.

“The craft of multiplying gold or silver” (alchemy) declared felony, [5 Hen. IV. c. 4<sup>v</sup>].

The countess of Oxford, several abbots and others, charged with spreading reports that King Richard is alive, are imprisoned<sup>w</sup>.

The French ravage the Devonshire coast, and also besiege Calais; many of their vessels are burnt at Sluys by the duke of Clarence and the earl of Kent<sup>x</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Glyndwr was outlawed at this parliament, and was specially excepted from many graces and pardons issued subsequently by Henry, but he died at last unconquered.

<sup>†</sup> He was in 1407 promoted to Rochester. By Glyndwr's wish Lewis Bifort was elected his successor, and was approved by the Pope (Innocent VII.), but as he did not obtain consecration from the archbishop of Canterbury, he is not included in the list of bishops of the see, though he held it at least till 1411.

<sup>u</sup> This was in the parliament held at Coventry, called the Layman's Parliament, from the circumstance that men learned in the law (who were then commonly clergymen) were carefully excluded. The scheme was probably devised by Henry's ministers, who resorted to many strange expedients to raise money, as may be seen by the Records of the Council, but all who had anything to lose saw that it endangered all property, and it was of necessity abandoned.

<sup>v</sup> This statute remained unrepealed until the year 1690, [1 Wm. & Mar. c. 30].

<sup>w</sup> The countess was the mother of Richard's late favourite, the duke of Ireland; she received a pardon, but the fate of the rest does not appear. The confessions of some of the parties are preserved among the Public Records.

<sup>x</sup> Edmund Holland, brother and heir of the earl killed in 1400,



The French king enters into a treaty with Glyndwr, styling him "Owen, prince of Wales," June 141.

A.D. 1405. Constance of York<sup>a</sup> endeavours to liberate the earl of March and his relatives imprisoned at Windsor, Feb. 15. The duke of York is put in the Tower on suspicion of being concerned in the matter, but is soon released.

The prince of Wales takes the field against Glyndwr in March, but is unable to subdue him.

James, son of Robert III. of Scotland, captured off Flamborough Head, March 30<sup>a</sup>.

Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham<sup>b</sup>, Richard Scrope, archbishop of York<sup>c</sup>, the earl of Northumberland, Lord Bardolf<sup>d</sup>, and others combine together to place the earl

(see p. 14). He held the post of High Admiral, and was killed at sea in 1407.

<sup>a</sup> It was negotiated by John Trevor, formerly bishop of St. Asaph, but expelled as a partisan of Glyndwr in 1402; he died in France in 1410.

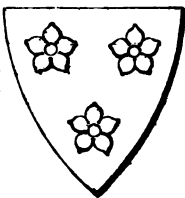
<sup>b</sup> She was the widow of Thomas Despenser, earl of Gloucester (see p. 14), and sister to the earl of Rutland, who by the death of his father had now become duke of York.

<sup>c</sup> He was on his voyage to France for security against the schemes of his uncle, the duke of Albany.

<sup>d</sup> The son of the duke of Norfolk, banished with Henry of Lancaster by Richard II.

<sup>e</sup> Brother of William Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, beheaded in 1399.

<sup>f</sup> Thomas, Lord Bardolf, was born in 1367, and succeeded his father, William, in his seventeenth year. He had large possessions in Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, and served in France and in Ireland during the latter years of the reign of Richard II. He joined Henry of Lancaster at Shrewsbury, but afterwards espoused the cause of the Percies, and was mortally wounded at Bramham-moor. His head was set up at Lincoln, and his quarters at London, York, Lynn, and Shrewsbury, but his widow was allowed to remove them at the same time as Northumberland received Christian burial.



Arms of Lord Bardolf.

of March on the throne. The archbishop publishes a manifesto declaring Henry excommunicated, May 9.

Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, gets the chief insurgents into his hands by treachery. The archbishop and the earl of Nottingham are beheaded, June 8, and Lords Hastings and Falconbridge soon after. The earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf escape to Scotland.

The French send succours to Glyndwr.

Henry marches against Glyndwr, but is again unsuccessful\*.

A.D. 1406. The crown settled by parliament on Henry and his four sons, [7 Hen. IV. c. 2].

Robert III. of Scotland dies, April 4; his brother Robert, duke of Albany, governs as regent, and makes no effort to procure the liberation of the young prince (James I.).

The guardianship of the seas from May 1, 1406, to Sept. 1407, committed to an association of merchants; the parliament assigns to them the taxes on wine, wool, and hides.

The Isle of Man granted to Sir John Stanley, April 6.

The earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf, fearing to be delivered up by the Scottish regent, flee to Glyndwr in Wales.

A.D. 1407. England greatly afflicted by pestilence.

Henry, in crossing from Queenborough to Leigh, at the mouth of the Thames, is attacked by French pirates, and narrowly escapes capture.

A strong body of French auxiliaries join Glyndwr,

\* The campaign was brief, bad weather and want of provisions obliging the English to retire, after considerable loss, in November.

who advances into England, and threatens Worcester, but at length retires.

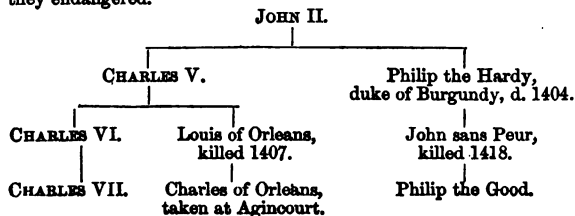
A parliament held at Gloucester, in October, when severe statutes are passed against the Welsh, [9 Hen. IV. cc. 1, 2, 3, 4].

## FRANCE.

A.D. 1407. Louis, duke of Orleans, is murdered by the duke of Burgundy, Nov. 23.

Charles VI. of France had several years before this fallen into a state of mental imbecility, and the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy contended for power with a degree of violence that proved fatal to their country, as well as to themselves. The queen, (Isabella of Bavaria,) a woman of depraved character, allied herself with the duke of Orleans, but after his death she sometimes inclined to the opposite party, and at length even leagued with Henry V. against her own son, the dauphin. The duke of Burgundy was assassinated in his turn, in the year 1419<sup>f</sup>, and the queen died, universally detested, in 1435.

<sup>f</sup> Two dukes of Orleans and three dukes of Burgundy were concerned in the transactions which brought about the English rule in France; they were all descended from a king (John II.) who died a prisoner in the hands of Edward III. The following table shews their relationship to each other, and to the dauphin, whose throne they endangered.



A.D. 1408. The earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf again appear in the north, and take up arms; they are defeated by the sheriff of Yorkshire (Sir Thomas Rokeby) at Bramham-moor, Feb. 19, the earl being killed in the field, and Lord Bardolf mortally wounded.

A.D. 1409. The council of Pisa deposes the rival popes, styled Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., June 5; Peter of Candia elected, June 15 or 26, who takes the name of Alexander V.

A strong body of Welsh ravage Shropshire, but are defeated, and their leaders, Philip Dhu and Philpot Scudamore, carried to London and executed.

A.D. 1410. The confiscation of the temporalities of the Church again proposed by the commons, but rejected by Henry.

The circulation of foreign money prohibited by statute [11 Hen. c. 5].

Thomas Badby, a Lollard, is executed, in April.

A.D. 1411. Henry sends a body of troops to assist the duke of Burgundy against his rivals; they gain a victory at St. Cloud<sup>s</sup>, and capture Paris.

Donald, lord of the Isles, endeavours to make himself independent of the Scottish crown. He is supported by Henry, but being defeated at Harlaw, near Aberdeen, July 24, is reduced to submission.

The giving of liveries again prohibited by statute. The practice had been forbidden in the first and seventh years of Henry's reign, but the enactments had not been attended to, [13 Hen. IV. c. 3].

<sup>s</sup> The French factions were so embittered against each other, that it was with difficulty that the English could prevail on the Burgundians to spare the lives of their prisoners.

Prince Henry is removed from the council.

A.D. 1412. Henry changes his policy, and joins the Orleans party, by treaty, May 12.

A six years' truce is concluded with the Scots, May 7.

Henry falls ill, when his eldest son claims the regency, which is refused to him.

The parties in France are reconciled, and unite against the English, who in return ravage Normandy<sup>b</sup>.

The first university in Scotland founded at St. Andrew's.

A.D. 1413. Henry is seized with a fit while at his devotions in the chapel of St. Edmund at Westminster; he dies a few days after, March 20, and is buried at Canterbury<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> They were commanded by the duke of Clarence; at length they withdrew into Guienne, on the promise of a large sum of money, for which the duke of Orleans gave hostages.

<sup>c</sup> His tomb still exists, and there seems no reason to doubt that he was buried there; but the partisans of the House of York many years after asserted, with the view of blackening his character, that, like Jonas, his body was thrown into the Thames, in order to appease a violent tempest. The curious statement of one Clement Maydeston on the subject will be found in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, and also in Stothard's *Sepulchral Monuments*.



Henry V., from his Monument, Westminster Abbey.

## HENRY V.

**HENRY**, the eldest son of Henry of Bolingbroke and Mary de Bohun, (one of the co-heiresses of Humphrey, earl of Hereford,) was born at Monmouth, Aug. 9, 1388. He had for his governor the famous Sir Thomas Percy, (afterwards earl of Worcester,) and was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, under the care of his uncle, Henry Beaufort, eventually bishop of Winchester. He early shared in the fortunes of his father, being carried to Ireland, as a hostage, by Richard II. in his eleventh year, but apparently treated with kindness, and honoured with knighthood. On his father's accession to the throne, young Henry was created prince of Wales, was summoned to parliament, and intrusted with military command against Glyndwr. The earl of March and his brother were placed under his guardianship; he was appointed lieutenant of Wales, and also warden of the Cinque Ports, and captain of the castles of Dover and Calais. He was likewise for a while a mem-

ber of the council, but was removed from it about the year 1412, having grievously offended his father by demanding the regency during the frequent illnesses of the latter, and being suspected of aspiring to the crown. So much active employment at so early an age renders it very doubtful that he could be guilty of much of the dissipation and violent conduct ordinarily ascribed to his youthful days.

Henry succeeded to the throne, March 21, 1413. Encouraged by the weakness to which the civil wars of the Orleans and Burgundian factions had reduced the country<sup>j</sup>, he at once prepared to attack France, but at first professed to have in view only the recovery of the English provinces. The negotiations for this end were protracted until the summer of 1415, when he put himself at the head of his army, landed in Normandy, captured Harfleur, and gained the victory of Agincourt, but, exhausted by the effort, was obliged to return to England.

In 1417 he again invaded France, effected the conquest of Normandy, gained the alliance of the Burgundians, and at length, by virtue of the treaty of Troyes, (May, 1420,) received the princess Katherine in marriage, was recognised by the queen-mother (Isabella of Bavaria) as heir to the crown, to the exclusion of her own son, the dauphin, and returned in triumph to England. A few months shewed that his conquest was not complete, and that the disinherited prince possessed the affections of the nation ; his brother, the duke of Clarence, was defeated and killed at Beauge, in March,

<sup>j</sup> See p. 25.

1421, and the king hastily returning, passed the short remainder of his life in almost constant action. He captured Dreux, but failed before Orleans, and though he passed the winter at Paris as king of France, was obliged in the following year to besiege Meaux, which only surrendered after a most resolute resistance; shortly after this he fell ill, and being carried to the Bois de Vincennes, near Paris, died there, Aug. 31, 1422, in the 35th year of his age, and the 10th of his reign.

Henry married the princess Katherine of France; she bore him one son, HENRY, who succeeded him. Katherine in 1423 married Owen Tudor, one of her attendants, and by him became the mother of Edmund Tudor, created earl of Richmond, the father of Henry VII.; Jasper, earl of Pembroke, and other children. She died in the nunnery of Bermondsey, separated from her husband, Jan. 4, 1437\*.

This king bore, like his father, France and England quarterly, but with the fleurs-de-lis of the former only three in number<sup>1</sup>. The same supporters (a lion and antelope) are ascribed to him, but probably this is an error. For badges he used an antelope gorged with a crown and chained; a swan similarly adorned; and a beacon inflamed; these devices are sometimes seen

\* Shortly after Katherine's death it was discovered that her sister-in-law, the duchess of Bedford, had also married one of her squires, Richard Woodville, and as she was now the first lady in the kingdom, the nobility loudly complained of these matches as degrading. The more recent offender, Woodville, had a powerful friend in Cardinal Beaufort, and so escaped punishment for his "presumption," but Tudor was confined in Newgate, and afterwards in the Tower.

<sup>1</sup> This was in imitation of an alteration made by Charles VI. of France.



united, as in the cornice of his tomb in Westminster Abbey.



Arms and Badges of Henry V.

The brilliant though transitory success of Henry's attack on France, has often caused its injustice to be overlooked, and himself to be regarded as one of the most eminent of the English kings. As a stroke of policy it doubtless answered its purpose, as it deferred to the time of his successor the desolating contest known as the Wars of the Roses; yet it is hard to say to which country it was most disastrous. Henry has, however, better claims on our respect than spring from mere conquest. He treated his royal captives (the king of Scotland and the earl of March) with kindness, restored the Percies, and firmly attached them to the interests of his family; his conduct, generally, was mild and humane<sup>m</sup>; he discouraged vice and luxury by his own orderly and sober life; he attended to the complaints of the humble, and was liberal in his rewards of service; though he persecuted the Lollards, he withstood the extravagant de-

<sup>m</sup> He was probably influenced rather by what he considered state necessity than by natural cruelty of disposition, in putting to death the earl of Cambridge and others, and in hanging the Scots taken in arms against him in France; these circumstances, however, will ever remain a deep stain on his character.

mands of the papal court, and restored the goods of hospitals to their proper uses; he built bridges and endowed religious houses; and to him rather than to Henry VII. belongs the credit of founding a royal navy<sup>n</sup>.

A.D. 1413. Henry V. is crowned at Westminster, April 9<sup>o</sup>.

The parliament meets at Westminster in May.

An act passed forbidding Welshmen to bring actions for damages sustained in "this rebellion of Wales," on pain of treble damages, two years' imprisonment, and fine and ransom at the king's pleasure, [1 Hen. V. c. 6 P].

"Irishmen, and Irish clerks, beggars, called chamber deacons," ordered to depart before the feast of All Souls (Nov. 2), "for quietness and peace in this realm of England," [c. 8].

Sir John Oldcastle<sup>q</sup> is condemned as a heretic, September 25; he escapes from the Tower in the course of the following month.

<sup>n</sup> He kept constantly a fleet of twelve vessels to guard the coast, which had been greatly neglected in the former reign (see p. 24); they each appear to have had from 80 to 100 mariners, men-at-arms and archers. Beside this, he had at command the navy of the Cinque Ports (about 60 ships), with numerous hired vessels, and prizes taken from the Genoese.

<sup>o</sup> His regnal years are computed from March 21.

<sup>p</sup> The recital, that the Welsh "daily make quarrels and great pursuit" against the "king's liege people" for injuries sustained by them in the course of the contest, shews that their insurrection had not been so completely crushed as writers usually suppose; neither did this statute reduce them to order, as in the next year we meet with a statement that the "king's liege people" are daily carried off by the Welsh, against whom heavy penalties are denounced, [2 Hen. V. c. 5].

<sup>q</sup> Commonly styled Lord Cobham, from his marriage with the grand-daughter of the last lord.

The archbishop of Canterbury (Thomas Arundel) holds a synod at St. Paul's from Nov. 20 to Dec. 4, for repression of the opinions of Wickliffe.

A.D. 1414. The king seizes a party of the Lollards, near London, in the night of Jan. 6, 7; they are accused of designs against his life, are condemned, and many of them executed.

An inquiry into and reformation of the state of hospitals ordered<sup>r</sup>, [2 Hen. V. c. 1].

The breach of truce or safe conduct declared high treason, [c. 6].

## FRANCE.

Henry forms alliances with the emperor (Sigismond), the king of Arragon (Ferdinand I.), and other princes. He despatches the archbishop of Canterbury, (Henry Chicheley<sup>s</sup>), Lord Grey, and other envoys to demand

<sup>r</sup> The statute alleges that their goods are for the most part decayed, and spent to other uses, and directs the ordinary of each diocese to remedy the abuse.

<sup>s</sup> This eminent man was born at Higham Ferrers, in Northamptonshire, about 1362, and educated at Wykeham's foundation in Winchester and Oxford. He particularly studied the civil and canon law, and though he became archdeacon of Salisbury, bishop of St. David's, and archbishop of Canterbury, he was for many years chiefly employed in embassies and other state business. He was present at the council of Pisa in 1410, and also attended Henry V. in his invasion of France; but after this king's death he devoted himself almost exclusively to the discharge of his duties as primate. In this capacity he firmly withstood the attacks of the papal court on the independence of the Church, and also repressed the vehemence of the Lollards, whence he is by some



Arms of All Souls' College, Oxford.

from the king of France (Charles VI.) the restoration of the former possessions of England, June. A compromise is proposed, which Henry rejects, and prepares for war.

The rivalry of parties by which France had been so long afflicted<sup>t</sup> was not in any manner abated by the prospect of attack from England. The duke of Orleans, who at that time was at the head of affairs, raised troops to defend the kingdom; Burgundy refused all co-operation, but preserved for a while a suspicious neutrality, until his rival was captured at Agincourt, when he seized on many of the strong cities of Normandy, and at length openly joined the English; his sincerity was, however, doubted by them, and French chroniclers assert that he was at the same time negotiating with the dauphin.

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A.D. 1414. The council of Constance<sup>u</sup> holds its first sitting Nov. 16.

writers, though unjustly, designated a persecutor. In the midst of these contentions he carried out his design of adding a new college to Oxford, and in the year 1437 founded All Souls, a noble monument of his pious liberality. Worn out with years and infirmity, he desired to resign his see, but before the transaction could be completed he died, April 12, 1443, and was buried at Canterbury, where his splendid tomb still remains, and has been recently re-edified by his college.

<sup>t</sup> See p. 25.

<sup>u</sup> This council sat until April 22, 1418. It was attended by both bishops and laymen from England. The schism in the Church was healed, by the deposition of three rival popes, and the election of Otho Colonna as Martin V. The opinions of Wickliffe were condemned, and his bones ordered to be burnt, a task which was committed to Richard Flemmyng, bishop of Lincoln, who had formerly been one of his party. The most memorable act of this council, however, was the burning of John Huss, in spite of a safe conduct which had been granted to him by the emperor.

A.D. 1415. The king assembles his forces in May; and joins them at Portsmouth in July.

The earl of Cambridge<sup>v</sup>, Lord Scrope of Masham, and Sir Thomas Grey, charged with conspiring against the life of the king, are executed, Aug. 2, 5. Nothing is known of the history of this conspiracy except from the record of the brief trial of the parties. We learn from this that they were charged with intending to kill "Henry of Lancaster, the usurper," and then to flee into Wales, where they were to proclaim the earl of March king. They are also charged, rather inconsistently with this last intention, with asserting King Richard to be still alive, and with sending into Scotland "for a certain man who in his shape of body and countenance did much resemble him;" for if this had been believed there must have been an end of the assumption of royalty by the earl of March.

The king sails with a large force, on board 1,500 ships, from Southampton, Aug. 11; lands in the pays du Caux, Aug. 13; lays siege to Harfleur<sup>x</sup>, and captures it Sept. 22.

<sup>v</sup> He was the second son of Edmund of Langley, duke of York, and had lately received the title of Cambridge from Henry. His son Richard became duke of York, and his daughter Isabel married Lord Bourchier, who was created earl of Essex by his nephew, Edward IV.

<sup>x</sup> The king had with him, beside the more ordinary warlike engines, as tripgettes, sows, bastiles, &c. several cannon of large size, called bombards, and named "London," "Messagere," "The king's daughter;" these pieces, which seem to have somewhat resembled the modern mortar, and which, Elmham says, "vomited from their fiery mouths vast quantities of stones, with a vehement explosion and a terrific and intolerable noise," were worked by gunners from Germany, and they contributed most materially to his success in other sieges.

He sends many of his sick to England, appoints the earl of Dorset (Thomas Beaufort) governor of Harfleur, and sets out on his march towards Calais, Oct. 8.

The French, under the dukes of Bourbon and Orleans, harass his march. He attempts in vain to cross the Somme, at Blanche Tache, Oct. 14; then proceeds up the stream through Abbeville and Amiens to Peronne, where he crosses the river at night, Oct. 20.

The French, having cut up the direct road, take post at Agincourt, to intercept his road to Calais; the two armies come in sight, Oct. 24.

Arthur of Brittany<sup>y</sup> attacks the English camp at midnight, during a storm of wind and rain, but is beaten off.

The French are defeated with terrible slaughter, at Agincourt<sup>z</sup>, Oct. 25.

The king resumes his march, Oct. 26, reaches Calais Oct. 29, where he remains until Nov. 17; he lands at Dover with his chief prisoners, Nov. 17, and makes a triumphant entry into London. Nov. 23.

A.D. 1416. The emperor (Sigismond) endeavours

<sup>y</sup> The son of Joan of Navarre, mother-in-law of the king. He was made prisoner the next day, and was confined until 1421, when he took service under the king, and served at the siege of Meaux. He soon after abandoned the English party, and became constable of France.

<sup>z</sup> The French leaders acted with so little judgment that their vast army was cut to pieces with very slight resistance, yet it is impossible to believe, as is often stated, that the victors lost only the duke of York, the earl of Suffolk, and about 20 others; St. Remy, a French historian, more probably makes their loss 1,600; 10,000 at least of the French were slain, 3,000, or more, being princes, nobles, or knights. Some of the more eminent were interred in the neighbouring churches, but the rest were buried in deep trenches in the field, which was consecrated by a bishop, and enclosed with a hedge and ditch by the pious care of Philip, count of Charolois, afterwards duke of Burgundy.

to bring about a peace; he visits England, and is most honourably received<sup>a</sup>.

The earl of Dorset makes an inroad in Normandy, in March. He fights an indecisive battle at Cany, March 14, and with difficulty regains Harfleur.

The French land in Portland, and lay it waste by fire, in May.

Harfleur being besieged, is relieved by the duke of Bedford, August 15, and again in October by the earl of Huntingdon<sup>b</sup>, many French and Genoese ships being captured on each occasion.

The duke of Burgundy (John sans Peur) allies himself to the English, and obtains possession of Rouen, Dieppe, and other places in Normandy.

A.D. 1417. The earl of Huntingdon captures a Genoese fleet off Harfleur<sup>c</sup>, July 25.

The king embarks at Southampton, July 23; lands at Touque (near Harfleur), Aug. 1; captures the castle, Aug. 9; besieges Caen, which is taken by assault, Sept. 4; the castle surrenders, Sept. 20, when Bayeux and many other towns and fortresses submit.

The Scots invest Berwick and Roxburgh, but soon retire.

All Bretons not denizenized expelled from England<sup>d</sup>, [4 Hen. V. c. 3].

<sup>a</sup> The king consented to a three years' truce, but the French in the meantime besieged Harfleur, and the negotiations were broken off.

<sup>b</sup> John Holland, afterwards duke of Exeter, and constable of the Tower, who is said to have invented new modes of torture for his prisoners there, whence the rack was styled "Exeter's daughter."

<sup>c</sup> Several of these ships, termed carracks, were of large size, and were at once taken into the king's service.

<sup>d</sup> The misconduct of "some dwelling near the queen [the widow of Henry IV.] and about her person" is particularly mentioned as giving occasion for this statute.

Coining declared treason, [4 Hen. V. st. 2, c. 6].

The native Irish forbidden to hold any benefice in their own country\*, [4 Hen. V. c. 6].

The duke of Brittany agrees to a truce for fifteen years, Nov. 16.

A.D. 1418. The king holds his court at Caen, early in the year, and confiscates the lands of those who do not return by a given time; vast estates are thus bestowed on the duke of Clarence and others.

The duke of Gloucester overruns the Cotentin.

Pontoise and other towns submit to the duke of Burgundy.

The duke of Orleans, the rival of Burgundy, had been captured at Agincourt, but his party (styled the Armagnacs, from Bernard, count of Armagnac, his father-in-law,) held possession of Paris for a time. They attempted to curb the turbulent citizens, who with arms in their hands set at nought all authority, when the latter called in the Burgundians; the Armagnacs attempted to expel them, were defeated, and were butchered in thousands; the dauphin was obliged to withdraw to Melun, and the duke of Burgundy seized on the government.

The king makes further conquests in Normandy; he besieges Rouen, in July; Domfront, Cherbourg, and other places are captured.

Sir John Oldcastle is captured in Wales, brought to London and burnt, Dec.<sup>f</sup>

\* It is alleged that such, coming to parliament, will bring with them attendants, who will betray "the secrets of the English."

<sup>f</sup> He was brought before the parliament, when he denied their jurisdiction over him, affirming that King Richard was still alive, and in Scotland; on which he was condemned without further hearing.



A.D. 1419. The king holds his court at Rouen<sup>g</sup>, as duke of Normandy, and receives the homage of the nobles.

He has several conferences at Meulan, on the Seine, in July, with the queen of France, who brings her daughter "Madame Katherine," and the duke of Burgundy, but they separate after a time without any agreement.

The duke of Burgundy is assassinated at a conference with the dauphin, at Montereau, August 12; his son (Philip the Good) at once joins the English.

A truce is concluded between the king and the inhabitants of Paris and other towns which adhere to the Burgundians, and steps are taken to bring the dauphin to punishment.

The dauphin throws himself into Compeigne, and repulses a force of English and Burgundians.

The people of Paris put themselves under the English government.

The king keeps his Christmas at Rouen, and arranges terms of peace with the duke of Burgundy.

A.D. 1420. A treaty is concluded at Troyes, May 21, for the marriage of Henry to the princess Katherine, and his reception as king of France<sup>h</sup> *de facto*.

Henry marries the princess Katherine at Troyes, June 2, and keeps his Christmas in Paris.

<sup>g</sup> The town had surrendered, January 19. Henry built a palace there, which existed until the time of the first French revolution, and was for a while the residence of the exiled James II. It stood near the west end of the quay, had a moat and drawbridge, and was flanked by five round towers.

<sup>h</sup> Charles and his queen were to retain their titles, but Henry was to have possession of the kingdom, although he was only to be styled heir during Charles's lifetime; but as early as May 6, 1420, Henry styled himself "Hæres et Regens Regni Franciæ."

A.D. 1421. The king holds a parliament at Rouen, in January, which decrees a new coinage<sup>1</sup>; he also there receives homage from his English lords for lands granted to them in France.

The king comes to England with his queen; she is crowned at Westminster, Feb. 24.

The duke of Clarence is defeated and killed at Beauge, in Anjou, by the Scottish auxiliaries of the dauphin, Mar. 22.

The king engages the earl of Douglas and other Scottish nobles in his service<sup>k</sup>.

A statute passed concerning offences committed by scholars of Oxford<sup>l</sup>, [9 Hen. V. c. 8].

The king raises fresh troops, and returns to France, landing at Calais June 11; he captures Dreux, but is obliged to quit the siege of Orleans through want of provisions, and passes the Christmas in Paris.

A.D. 1422. The king besieges Meaux, which surrenders after a desperate resistance, June 5.

He falls ill at Corbeuil, in July, is removed to the Bois de Vincennes, and dies there, Aug. 31<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Agreeably to the treaty of Troyes, the coins bore the inscription "Heres Franciæ."

<sup>k</sup> The captive king of Scotland gave his consent in the hope of obtaining his liberation, and himself served with them as a volunteer; a base advantage was taken of this by Henry, and any of the Scots who were captured were treated as traitors.

<sup>l</sup> It is stated that many clerks and scholars of Oxford, "armed and arrayed in manner of war," have put people out of possession of their lands and tenements in Oxford, Berks, and Bucks; have with dogs and greyhounds hunted in parks, forests, and warrens, and threatened the keepers; and have taken clerks convict of felony out of the hands of their ordinaries, and set them at liberty; if they do not surrender, they are to be outlawed, and also expelled from the University.

<sup>m</sup> The king's corpse was removed to St. Denys, where a solemn service was performed, Sept. 15; it was then carried with much pomp to England, a hundred torches being borne before the funeral car, and was deposited at Westminster, near the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor.



Henry VI., from his Great Seal.



Margaret of Anjou, from a window,  
Bodleian Library.

## HENRY VI.

HENRY, the only son of Henry V. and Katherine of France, was born at Windsor, December 6, 1421. When less than nine months old he succeeded his father, (Sept. 1, 1422,) and was proclaimed king both in England and in France, the government being administered by his uncles, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, and the bishop of Winchester, and his own education entrusted to the earl of Warwick<sup>a</sup>, who from his proficiency in every knightly art was styled "the father of courtesy," but who did not succeed in imparting any portion of his own warlike spirit and worldly wisdom to his royal pupil.

The events of Henry's reign were most important, but he had apparently very little share in directing them. In his youth he was under the tutelage of his

<sup>a</sup> Richard, son of Thomas Beauchamp, condemned to death in the time of Richard II. (see vol. i. p. 415). He was long captain of Calais, received the office of regent of France in 1437, and died at Rouen in 1439. Richard Neville derived from him his title of earl of Warwick, having married his daughter Anne.

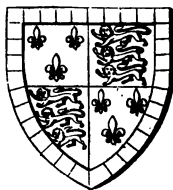
uncles, who quarreled among themselves, and thus sacrificed his father's acquisitions; when advanced to manhood, he was as completely guided by his ambitious, intriguing wife and her favourite ministers, Suffolk<sup>o</sup> and Somerset<sup>p</sup>; their conduct occasioned bitter discontent,

\* William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, grandson of the favourite of Richard II., was born in 1396. His brother Michael was killed at Agincourt, and his father died at the siege of Harfleur; he himself served in France, and was taken prisoner at Jergeaux, but recovered his liberty, was admitted to the king's council, and received a grant of the reversion of the earldom of Pembroke, in case the duke of Gloucester, who then possessed it, died childless. He was afterwards employed to negotiate a peace with the French, and he was also a chief instrument in bringing about the king's marriage with Margaret of Anjou. He now became in effect prime minister, was created marquis, and soon after duke of Suffolk, received the offices of grand steward, chamberlain, and admiral, and the wardship of Margaret Beaufort, the king's cousin. He was, however, exceedingly unpopular, being suspected of treacherously surrendering the English possessions in France, and also of being concerned in the death of the duke of Gloucester. At length he was impeached by the Commons, and committed to the Tower; he was soon after banished, but was beheaded at sea, by order of the constable of the Tower, (John Holland, duke of Exeter,) in May, 1450. His son John, born in 1443, married Elizabeth, the sister of Edward IV.



Arms of de la Pole, earl of Suffolk.

† Edmund Beaufort was the grandson of John of Gaunt. Like his brother John he was made prisoner at Beauge, but afterwards distinguished himself in the French wars. He defended Rouen, and captured Harfleur and Montreuil; relieved Calais when besieged, and also ravaged Brittany. He received in succession the titles of earl of Moretain and Perche, earl and marquis of Dorset, and duke of Somerset, and in 1444 was appointed regent of Normandy, in succession to the duke of York. He acted feebly in this capacity, and surrendered Caen, almost without resistance, by which the province was lost. He returned to England, and, in spite of the popular discontent, on the death of the duke of Suffolk he succeeded to his place in the favour of the queen. The duke of



Arms of Beaufort, duke of Somerset.

and in the end, though personally beloved for his pious and charitable conduct, splendid evidences of which remain to this day<sup>4</sup>, the "meek usurper" was deprived of his throne; he saw his friends cut off in the field or on the scaffold; he suffered exile and a tedious imprisonment himself, and he died at last in confinement in the Tower, about the month of May, 1471. His death has usually been ascribed to violence, but it was more probably owing to grief at the capture of his wife and slaughter of his son at Tewkesbury shortly before. His body was exposed in St. Paul's, and then buried with little ceremony at Chertsey Abbey, but by Henry VII. was removed to Windsor, and interred in St. George's Chapel.

In 1445 Henry married Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, but in fact a dependant on the king of France. To obtain her hand most of the remaining English possessions in France were given up, and Margaret thus became unpopular with the English from her first coming among them. She was a woman of beauty and undaunted spirit; thus she gained an ascendancy over her weak husband which was often unwisely and some-

York took up arms to bring him to trial, but after some contention they were formally reconciled; this lasted but a short time, and in 1454 Somerset was imprisoned on charges of treason preferred by the duke; he was, however, set at liberty by the influence of the queen, and taking the command of some troops he advanced to St. Alban's, where he was met by the duke of York, defeated and killed, May 23, 1455, the assault being led by his brother-in-law, the earl of Warwick. He left three sons, who all died in the Lancastrian cause.

<sup>4</sup> He founded Eton College in 1440, and King's College, Cambridge in 1443, beside assisting Chicheley's foundation at Oxford; his queen endowed a second college at Cambridge.

times cruelly exercised, and was the immediate cause of his downfall. She, however, fully shared his sufferings, and made the most vigorous attempts to retrieve his fortunes, enduring exile, innumerable perils by land and by sea, and a long imprisonment; she at length closed her chequered life in her native country, dying in poverty at Dampierre, near Saumur, Aug. 25, 1481.

Henry's only son, Edward, born October 13, 1453, married Anne, daughter of the earl of Warwick, in 1470, but was killed at Tewkesbury shortly after.

The arms of Henry VI. are the same as those of his father, France and England quarterly. His supporters are usually two antelopes, argent; but sometimes the dexter supporter is a lion; and in other instances a panther rampant, incensed, is the sinister. His badges are, an antelope collared and chained, two feathers in saltire, and sometimes a panther passant gardant, spotted with many colours and incensed; but this latter more properly belongs to the Beauforts. The well-known motto *DIEU ET MON DROIT*, appears to have been first assumed as such by this king, but it had been in use as a war-cry at least as early as the time of Richard I.



Arms of Henry VI.

Henry in character was evidently well meaning, and sincerely pious<sup>2</sup>, but too weak and irresolute to hold sway in the turbulent days in which he lived; still he

\* He was popularly regarded as a saint, and Henry VII. took some steps to procure his canonization, but is stated by Lord Bacon to have been deterred by the expense.

justly claims our pity for his sufferings: his great misfortune was, that by the conduct of his grandfather he was placed in a position the duties of which he was entirely unfit to discharge, and that thus he was exposed to the penalty justly attached to his ancestor's crime, but which descended on his innocent head.

A.D. 1422. The duke of Bedford governs in France, and the duke of Gloucester in England, in the name of the infant king<sup>a</sup>, who is placed under the care of the earl of Warwick (Richard Beauchamp).

Charles VI. of France dies, Oct. 21; the dauphin is crowned at Poitiers, while Henry VI. is acknowledged as king in Paris.

Irish residents at Oxford and Cambridge ordered to leave the realm within a month, except graduates and beneficed men, who can find surety, [1 Hen. VI. c. 3<sup>t</sup>].

A.D. 1423. A treaty concluded at Amiens, by which the duke of Brittany (John V.) becomes an ally of the English.

The earl of Salisbury (Thomas Montacute) defeats the French and their Scottish allies at Crevant, in Burgundy, July.

The French defeat and capture Sir John de la Pole, at Gravelle, in Maine.

Merchandise of the staple to be carried only to Calais, [2 Hen. VI. c. 4].

<sup>a</sup> His regnal years are computed from Sept. 1.

<sup>b</sup> The reason given is that divers manslaughterers, murders, robberies, felonies, riots, and other offences, have lately been committed by them; no fresh scholars from Ireland are to be received without proper testimonials of being in the king's obedience.

Justices empowered to regulate wages and prices of victuals, [c. 18].

Persons committed for treason, making their escape, to be considered as convicted, [c. 21].

A.D. 1424. King James of Scotland set at liberty, in April<sup>u</sup>.

James of Scotland causes the duke of Albany (the late regent), two of his sons<sup>v</sup>, and the earl of Lenox, to be executed as traitors, May 24.

The duke of Bedford defeats the French and Scots, at Verneuil, in Perche, August 16.

The duke of Gloucester invades Hainault, in October, to recover the inheritance of his wife, Jaqueline of Holland; he is opposed by the duke of Burgundy (her kinsman), and at length obliged to withdraw.

The duke of Brittany abandons the party of the English.

A.D. 1425. The duke of Gloucester and his uncle Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, contend for the rule in England, but, after a time, are outwardly reconciled by the duke of Bedford.

Britanny is invaded by the duke of Bedford, and its duke obliged to rejoin the English.

The court of Charles VII. is torn by faction; the constable<sup>w</sup> puts the royal favourite to death.

A.D. 1426. The duke of Gloucester abandons the

\* He had shortly before married Joan, daughter of John Beaufort, earl of Somerset. He gave hostages for the payment of a heavy ransom, and agreed to a truce of seven years, from which the Scots serving in France were excluded.

<sup>v</sup> His youngest son escaped to Ireland, and died there.

<sup>w</sup> Arthur, earl of Richmond, and brother of the duke of Britanny. See p. 36.



contest in Hainault\*. He endeavours to render himself absolute in the council in England, but is thwarted by Cardinal Beaufort and the chancellor, Archbishop Kempe†.

A.D. 1427. The election of knights of the shire regulated by statute, [6 Hen. VI. c. 4; see also 8 Hen. VI. c. 7].

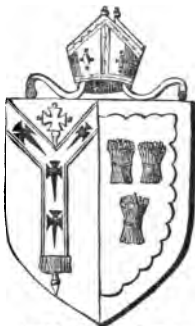
James of Scotland captures Alexander, lord of the Isles, and several other chieftains, by treachery, at Inverness.

A.D. 1428. Lincoln College, Oxford, is founded‡, Oct. 13.

\* Jaqueline fell soon after into the hands of the duke of Burgundy, but escaped to Holland. Her marriage with Gloucester was set aside by the pope (Martin V.) and the duke married Eleanor Cobham.

† John Kempe was a poor Kentish scholar, who received his education at Merton College, Oxford, and acquired a profound knowledge of the civil and canon law. From the office of archdeacon of Durham he was raised, by a papal provision, to the see of Rochester, in 1419; and was successively advanced, by the same influence, to the sees of Chichester, London, York, and Canterbury, and made a cardinal. In 1426 he became chancellor, and supported Cardinal Beaufort against the Duke of Gloucester. In 1432 he resigned, and was succeeded by John Stafford, bishop of Bath and Wells, who 18 years after was driven from office, when Kempe again received the great seal, and held it till his death, which happened March 22, 1454. He had in earlier days been chancellor of Normandy, as also judge of the Arches court; he displayed statesmanlike firmness and prudence in dealing with Cade and his followers, and also in endeavouring to reconcile the dukes of York and Somerset, whose animosity was kept within bounds during his life, but who no sooner lost his seasonable mediation than they carried their quarrel to a point where the sword alone could decide between them. Cardinal Kempe was liberal in his patronage of learning, and greatly contributed to the establishment of the Public Schools at Oxford.

‡ Its founder was Richard Flemmyng, bishop of Lincoln, who had

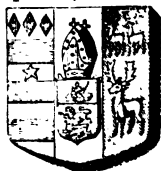


Arms of Archbishop Kempe.

The earl of Salisbury besieges Orleans ; he is wounded there, Oct. 27, and dies Nov. 3.

A.D. 1429. The siege of Orleans is continued by the earl of Suffolk, (William de la Pole). The French are defeated at Roveroy, near Orleans, Feb. 12<sup>a</sup>.

The siege of Orleans is raised by Joan of Arc<sup>b</sup>; she been once a Wickliffite, but had changed his opinions, and beside performing the task imposed on him by the Council of Constance, of burning Wickliffe's bones, erected this college as a nursery for controversialists. The pope wished to promote him to the archiepiscopal see of York, but the king's council opposed it, and he died bishop of Lincoln in 1431. Thomas Rotherham, another bishop of Lincoln, (subsequently archbishop of York,) so greatly augmented the revenues of the college that he is regarded as a second founder.



Arms of Lincoln College, Oxford.

<sup>a</sup> The French attempted to cut off a convoy of Lenten provisions sent for the use of the besiegers, whence this action was called the battle of Herrings.

<sup>b</sup> Joan of Arc, styled La Pucelle, or the Maid of Orleans, was a peasant-girl, born at Domremy, in Lorraine, about the year 1410. Her mind, naturally contemplative and pious, became disordered by brooding over the sufferings of her country, and she imagined that voices from heaven commissioned her to become its deliverer. In the year 1428, when the English had almost completed the conquest of France, she appeared before Charles VII., who kept his court at Chinon, announced herself as sent by Heaven to establish him on the throne, and though at first repulsed, at length obtained from him a horse, a suit of armour, and a few followers, with whom she proceeded to Orleans, then besieged by the earl of Suffolk, and on the point of surrender. She speedily raised the siege, next defeated Talbot at Patay, and finally conducted Charles to Reims, where she placed the crown on his head, July 18. The Maid, considering her mission complete, now wished to retire, but it was considered that she could render further service, and she was, unhappily for herself, persuaded to remain. Anxious to relieve Compeigne, then besieged by the Burgundians, she threw herself into it, and kept up the spirits of the garrison by many acts of daring courage, but was at length captured in heading a sortie. The Burgundians surrendered her for a sum of money to the duke of Bedford, who, though in general a wise and merciful prince, seems to have seriously believed that her former successes were owing to witchcraft. By his direction she was, after a long and rigorous imprisonment, brought before an ecclesiastical tribunal, at which the bishop of

entered the city April 29, and the English retired May 8.

The French begin to act on the offensive ; they capture the earl of Suffolk at Jergeaux, June 12 ; defeat the Lord Talbot<sup>c</sup> at Patay, June 18 ; and conduct their king

Beauvais presided, and was condemned to death as a sorceress. In consequence, she was burnt alive at Rouen, May 30, 1431, but this barbarity was far from producing its expected effect ; the English cause declined from day to day, while the memory of the Maid was gratefully cherished by her countrymen ; her family was ennobled, and her native village freed from taxes ; and more modern times have witnessed the celebration of fêtes and the erection of numerous statues, which testify the sense justly entertained of her services to France.

\* John Talbot, a younger son of Sir Gilbert Talbot, a knight on the Welsh border, married an heiress, and in her right became Lord Furnivall. For some reason now unknown he was imprisoned in the Tower early in the reign of Henry V., but was soon after released, and appointed lieutenant of Ireland, a post which he held for many years, though ordinarily employed in France, where he was one of the firmest supports of the English rule. He was, however, defeated and taken prisoner at Patay, and though soon exchanged for a distinguished French captain, and employed for several years longer in the country, he was obliged to retire when Normandy was overrun by the troops of Charles VII. Talbot was, however, more successful in Ireland, where he captured several potent chieftains, and he received abundant honour and rewards. He was created earl of Shrewsbury in 1442, and earl of Waterford in 1447 ; his eldest son was appointed chancellor, and himself hereditary lord steward, of Ireland. When the Gascons appealed for aid against the French, the fame of Talbot pointed him out as the proper leader of reinforcements, and he accordingly sailed on the expedition, but after some slight successes he was defeated and killed at Castillon, in his 81st year, his son John, Lord Lisle, falling with him. Their bodies were



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to Reims, where he is crowned July 18; many of the strong towns expel their English or Burgundian garrisons.

The duke of Bedford raises fresh forces, and endeavours to bring the French to an engagement without success.

The duke of Burgundy is appointed governor of Paris.

The king is crowned at Westminster, Nov. 6.

A.D. 1430. Joan of Arc is captured at Compeigne, May 26, but the English are shortly after obliged to raise the siege.

The truce with Scotland renewed until May 1, 1436.

A.D. 1431. The king is crowned at Paris, Dec. 17.

The French recapture Harfleur.

A.D. 1432. The duchess of Bedford dies, Nov. 14; the duke of Burgundy (her brother) takes offence at a marriage soon after contracted by the duke of Bedford, and inclines to the French party.

A.D. 1433. Various conferences for peace are held, under the mediation of the pope, (Eugenius IV.,) and through the means of the duke of Orleans, but without effect.

A.D. 1434. An insurrection against the English in Normandy is suppressed by the earl of Arundel (John Fitzalan<sup>d</sup>).

A.D. 1435. A congress held at Arras to treat of peace, Aug. 20; the English envoys, offended at the

brought to England, and buried with great pomp at Whitchurch, in Shropshire. He was succeeded by his eldest son, also named John, who was made treasurer of England, received large grants of the forfeited estates of the duke of York, and was killed on the Lancastrian side at the battle of Northampton, in 1460.

<sup>d</sup> He was killed shortly after at Gerberoi.

offers of the French\*, withdraw Sept. 6, and the duke of Burgundy formally abandons their alliance, Sept. 21.

The duke of Bedford dies at Rouen, Sept. 14.

James of Scotland resumes estates granted, particularly those of the earls of March and of Strathearn†, which occasions much discontent among his nobles, and they begin to conspire against him.

A.D. 1436. The bishop of Winchester and the duke of Gloucester thwart each other's designs, and thus hinder reinforcements being sent to France.

Paris is retaken by the French, April 13.

The duke of Burgundy besieges Calais, July 19; he is forced to retire by the duke of Gloucester, Aug. 2.

War breaks out with Scotland; James besieges the castle of Roxburgh, in August.

The duke of York and Talbot are successful in Normandy, and ravage the country as far as Paris.

A.D. 1437. Guilds and incorporate companies ordered to have their charters duly recorded before justices of the peace‡, (15 Hen. VI. c. 6).

\* They offered to cede Normandy and Guienne to be held by the ordinary homage, on condition of Henry resigning all claim to the crown and surrendering Calais and all other places that he then possessed in France.

† The earl of March (George Dunbar) had been engaged in intrigues with the English during the king's captivity, but had been pardoned by the regent, Albany; the king now seized his earldom, on the plea that the regent had no power to pardon treason. The earl of Strathearn (Malise Graham) was great-grandson of Robert II., by whom the fief had been limited to males; the earl's mother, however, had been allowed to hold it, and to convey it to her husband, who possessed it for many years unquestioned, and transmitted it to his son; Malise had been one of the king's hostages in England, and his treatment was highly resented by his fellow nobles.

‡ The preamble states that these bodies oftentimes made unlawful and unreasonable ordinances "for their own profit and common damage to the people," and for remedy the justices are empowered

James of Scotland murdered at Perth, Feb. 20<sup>b</sup>; he is succeeded by his son James II., a child of six years old<sup>1</sup>.

The duke of York is recalled from France, and the earl of Warwick (Richard Beauchamp) appointed regent in his stead, July 16.

The duke of Burgundy's territories ravaged by Talbot.

A.D. 1438. England is afflicted with plague and famine.

A nine years' truce concluded with Scotland, March 31.

A.D. 1439. Fresh conferences for peace are held in the summer, but without effect; a three years' truce is agreed to between England and Burgundy.

The constable of France captures Meaux.

The Public Schools at Oxford are founded.

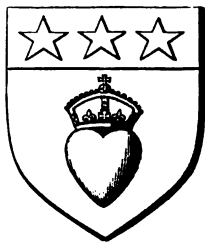
A.D. 1440. The title of viscount created by patent<sup>k</sup>.

to revoke and repeal such; those who afterwards endeavour to enforce them being liable to a fine of £10 for each transgression.

<sup>b</sup> The chief conspirators were the earl of Athol, uncle to the king, and Robert Graham, uncle of the disinherited earl of Strathearn (see p. 51); they were both tortured to death.

<sup>1</sup> His minority was disturbed by the struggles of the lords Crichton and Livingstone, the chancellor and governor of the realm, who held, the one Edinburgh, the other Stirling, and contended for the possession of the king; by the intrigues of his mother and her second husband, Sir James Stuart, of Lorn; and by the turbulence of two successive earls of Douglas, who set all law at defiance, and made treasonable leagues with England and the lords of the Isles. The crowned heart in the Douglas arms is an augmentation in memory of the journey of Sir James Douglas to the Holy Land with the heart of King Robert Bruce.

<sup>k</sup> John, lord Beaumont, was the first person who received this new title, Feb. 10, 1440, accompanied by a grant of lands in France.



Arms of Douglas.

Louis the dauphin conspires against his father, Charles VII. The English take advantage of the confusion, ravage Picardy, and capture Harfleur.

The duke of York is again appointed regent, July 2.

Eton College founded by Henry VI., Oct. 11.

The duke of Orleans is set at liberty<sup>1</sup>, Nov. 12.

William, earl of Douglas, and his brother, seized by treachery, and executed, Nov. 24.

A.D. 1441. Charles VII. takes Creil, in April, but is driven from Pontoise in August by the duke of York ; he returns, and captures the town, putting the garrison to the sword.

The duchess of Gloucester, accused of witchcraft, is sentenced to imprisonment for life<sup>m</sup>.

A.D. 1442. The French gain several towns in the south of France ; the duke of York ravages the north.

A.D. 1443. The duke of Gloucester accuses the bishop of Winchester of treason ; the bishop produces a general pardon from the king.

The truce with Burgundy is renewed, April 23.

King's College, Cambridge, founded by Henry VI.

A.D. 1444. A truce is concluded with France, May 28. It was to endure to May 1, 1446, and was afterwards prolonged to April 1, 1450.

The duke of York is recalled from France, and succeeded by the marquis of Dorset (Edmund Beaufort).

<sup>1</sup> He had been captured at Agincourt, in 1415 ; one condition of his release was that he should endeavour to bring about a peace, in which case the heavy ransom imposed on him was to be remitted.

<sup>m</sup> She was first sent to Calais, and afterwards to the Isle of Man, where she was confined in the crypt under the cathedral of St. German, within Peel Castle. Robert Bolingbroke, a priest, and Margaret Jourdain, called the witch of Eye, her presumed confederates, were executed.

A.D. 1445. The king marries Margaret of Anjou<sup>n</sup>, April 22; Margaret is crowned, April 30.

A.D. 1446. The earl of Suffolk is thanked in the parliament for his services in negotiating the truce with France.

A.D. 1447. A parliament held at Bury St. Edmund's, Feb. 10; the duke of Gloucester is seized, Feb. 11, and is found dead a few days after.

Cardinal Beaufort dies, April 11.

A.D. 1448. Anjou and Maine surrendered according to treaty to the French. The discharged garrisons ravage Brittany.

A.D. 1449. The French invade Normandy at several different points, and achieve its conquest with little trouble.

Queens' College, Cambridge, founded by Queen Margaret, March 30<sup>o</sup>.

The duke of York is appointed lieutenant of Ireland, July 5. He conciliates the people, and his friends<sup>p</sup> bring forward his claim to the throne.

A war breaks out with Scotland; the English burn Dumfries, and the Scots destroy Alnwick; the earl of Northumberland is defeated in Annandale. A truce for an unlimited period is concluded, Nov. 15.

A.D. 1450. Insurrections break out in various parts of England, directed against the duke of Suffolk and his

\* The marriage was negotiated by the earl of Suffolk, who had before concluded the truce with France. The contract stipulated for the surrender of several of the remaining English possessions in France, and hence was opposed by the duke of Gloucester, but the influence of his rival, the bishop of Winchester, prevailed.

\* It was at first called St. Bernard and St. Margaret's College; but being further endowed by the queen of Edward IV., it obtained its present appellation.

<sup>p</sup> The most influential of these parties was Richard Neville, second



partisans. The chancellor (Archbishop Stafford) retires and Cardinal Kempe is recalled<sup>4</sup>.

Adam Moleyne, bishop of Chichester, is murdered at Portsmouth early in January.

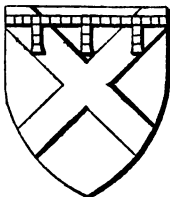
The duke is impeached by the Commons, Jan. 28, and committed to the Tower.

He is brought before the parliament, March 17, and without trial sentenced to five years' banishment. He embarks at Ipswich May 3, but is overtaken and beheaded at sea, by order of the constable of the Tower, (John Holland, duke of Exeter).

John Cade (calling himself Mortimer<sup>5</sup>) raises an insurrection of Ralph, earl of Westmoreland, who was born in the year 1400, and had obtained the earldom of Salisbury by marriage with Alice, the heiress of Thomas Montacute, killed at Orleans, in 1429. He served in France under the duke of York, who was his brother-in-law, became warden of the West Marches, in conjunction with his eldest son, ("king-making Warwick,") and rendered himself famous by his strenuous opposition to the surrender of the English provinces in France. When the civil war broke out, he took the field, and gained a victory over the Lancastrians at Bloreheath; owing to a sudden change of fortune, he was soon after obliged to flee to Calais, and was attainted. He returned the next year, and accompanied the duke of York into the north against Queen Margaret, but being taken at Wakefield, (where his son Thomas was killed, as well as the duke) he was beheaded, and his head placed on the wall of York, whence it was removed in February, 1461, and buried with his wife at Bisham, in Berkshire, where he had prepared a place of sepulture before the battle of Bloreheath. He left three sons: Richard, earl of Salisbury and Warwick; and John, marquis of Montacute, both killed at Barnet, in 1471; William, lord Falconbridge and earl of Kent, who died in 1463. Of his daughters, Margaret was the wife of John de Vere, earl of Oxford, a staunch Lancastrian; and Katherine married first Lord Bonville, and afterwards Lord Hastings.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> He was an Irish soldier of fortune, "a young man of a goodly stature and pregnant wit," and was supposed to be put forward by the duke of York, in order to ascertain the feeling of the nation towards his claim; hence his assumed name of Mortimer.



Arms of Neville, earl of Salisbury.

surrection in Kent, in May; he encamps on Blackheath, June 1, and, as "captain of the great assembly of Kent," requires the dismissal of evil councillors.

Sir Humphrey Stafford (cousin of the duke of Buckingham<sup>a</sup>) is sent against him, but is defeated and killed at Sevenoaks, June 27; Cade enters London, July 1; beheads Lord Say and Sele<sup>t</sup>, and attempts to plunder the city; he is driven out, July 5, when his followers disperse, and he is soon after killed in Sussex.

William Ascough, bishop of Salisbury, is murdered by insurgents at Edington, in Wiltshire, June 29.

Cherbourg is taken by the French, Aug. 12.

The duke of Somerset, late governor in Normandy, returns to England, and takes the direction of affairs.

<sup>a</sup> Humphrey, earl of Buckingham, was grandson to Thomas of Woodstock, and was born in 1404. He served in France in the wars of Henry V. and VI., and was present at the coronation of the latter at Paris. In 1440 he was appointed captain of Calais, and on Sept. 14, 1444, he was created duke of Buckingham. A fierce quarrel as to precedence ensued between himself and Henry Beauchamp, duke of Warwick and king of the Isle of Wight, but on Warwick's death soon after, he was declared first peer of the realm, and was also made constable of Dover and warden of the Cinque Ports. He was killed at the battle of Northampton in 1460, and was succeeded by his grandson, his eldest son, Humphrey, having fallen at the first battle of St. Alban's; his second son, Henry, became the second husband of Margaret, countess of Richmond. A frightful succession of calamities befel both the ancestors and the descendants of this potent noble, as well as himself. His grandfather was murdered at Calais, his father killed at Shrewsbury, his son at St. Alban's, and himself at Northampton; his grandson and great-grandson were both executed as traitors, and the great-grandson of the last was in 1637 compelled by abject poverty to relinquish the rank of Lord Stafford, to which he had become entitled, his sister being at the time the wife of a carpenter.

<sup>t</sup> He was treasurer of England, and had been a devoted adherent of the duke of Suffolk.



Arms of Stafford, duke of Buckingham.

The University of Glasgow founded by papal bull.

A.D. 1451. The French overrun Gascony; the last town that holds out is Bayonne, which is taken Aug. 25.

A.D. 1452. The duke of York takes up arms, and demands that Somerset shall be brought to trial. He is prevailed on to lay down his arms, when he is imprisoned, but is shortly released, and retires to his castle of Wigmore.

Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, is sent to reconquer Gascony; Bordeaux surrenders to him, Oct. 23.

William, earl of Douglas, (cousin of the preceding earl<sup>u</sup>), is murdered by James II. of Scotland, Feb. 22; the Douglasses proclaim the king a perjured murderer, and declare themselves subjects of England.

They take up arms, but being unsuccessful, are reconciled with the king.

A.D. 1453. Talbot is defeated and killed at Castillon, July 23; Bordeaux invested by the French, Aug. 1; is taken by them, Oct. 17.

The king falls ill, and is totally incapacitated for the government, November.

A.D. 1454. The duke of York again comes forward, is admitted into the king's council, and procures the imprisonment of Somerset.

The parliament meets, Feb. 14; the king's incapacity being fully certified, the duke of York is appointed Protector. Somerset is deprived of his offices<sup>x</sup>, and accused of treason, but the charge is not followed up.

<sup>u</sup> See p. 53.

<sup>x</sup> One of these was the captainship of Calais, which was bestowed on the duke of York, for seven years, July 28, 1454, but taken from him shortly after.

James, earl of Douglas, rebels, but being defeated, flees to England.

A.D. 1455. The king recovers his health, revokes the duke of York's commission as Protector, and releases Somerset from the Tower, Feb. 5.

The dukes of York and Somerset are prevailed on to submit their disputes to arbitration, March 4.

The duke of York, being deprived of the captainship of Calais, takes up arms; Somerset advances against him; the armies meet at St. Alban's, May 23, when Somerset is killed<sup>7</sup>, and the duke of York gains a complete victory.

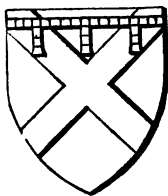
The parliament meets, July 9, when a declaration is made of the innocence of the duke of Gloucester<sup>2</sup>, and a general pardon issued.

The captainship of Calais bestowed on the earl of Warwick<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Henry, earl of Northumberland, was also killed on the Lancastrian side; he was brother-in-law of the duke of York.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 54.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Neville was the eldest son of Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, and was born in the year 1428. Like his father he married an heiress, and thus became earl of Warwick. He espoused the cause of the duke of York, led the van at the battle of St. Alban's, where Somerset, his brother-in-law, was slain, and soon after received the appointment of captain of Calais, which important post he retained, through many vicissitudes of fortune, until his death. An attempt was made to assassinate him in the year 1458, which occasioned the Yorkists again to take arms; though successful at first, they were eventually dispersed; the earl, among others, was attainted, and the young duke of Somerset, his nephew, was sent to dispossess him of Calais. Warwick, however, foiled him, and maintained his forces by a piratical warfare, in which he sometimes seized rich Lancastrians on the English coast and put them to ransom; at others, captured rich Spanish ships; then, returning to England, gained



Arms of Neville, earl of Warwick.

The earl of Douglas invades Scotland; he is defeated, and two of his brothers killed.

The king again falls ill, when, at the desire of the parliament, the duke of York is a second time constituted Protector, Nov. 19.

A.D. 1456. The king recovers, and again revokes the duke's commission, Feb. 25; the duke and his chief adherents retire to their estates<sup>b</sup>.

Donald, lord of the Isles, invades Scotland, in concert

the battle of Northampton, but was defeated by Queen Margaret at St. Alban's. Edward IV. now succeeded, and Warwick was for a while all-powerful. He gained the victory of Towton, was made captain of Dover (Calais was already in his keeping), warden of the Scottish marches, lord chamberlain and lord steward, and had grants of forfeited lands to the amount of 80,000 crowns annually, while one brother was made earl of Northumberland, and the other archbishop of York. He at length found rivals in the Woodvilles, the relatives of Edward's queen; quarrels and slight insurrections ensued, and in 1470 he suddenly espoused the Lancastrian cause, drove out Edward and restored Henry, from whom he received a confirmation of all his offices and acquisitions, and the post of admiral. Edward returned, and the earl was defeated and killed, together with his brother, at Barnet, April 14, 1471; their bodies were brought to London, exposed to the public gaze in one coffin, and afterwards buried at Bisham, with their father. Richard left two daughters: Isabella, who married the duke of Clarence; and Anne, first married to Edward, son of Henry VI., and afterwards to Richard, duke of Gloucester. His widow took sanctuary for a while at Beaulieu, and afterwards lived in poverty until the time of Henry VII., who pretended to restore her estates, but she at once conveyed them to him, and received one manor (Sutton, in Warwickshire) for her support; she was living in 1490, but how long after is uncertain.

John Neville, the younger brother of Richard, defeated the Lancastrians at Hexham, and was created earl of Northumberland; this was afterwards changed for the title of marquis of Montacute. He followed his brother's steps, and fell with him at Barnet. His son George, a child, who had been created duke of Bedford, was stripped of his estates, then deposed for his poverty, and imprisoned with the young earl of Warwick at Sheriff Hutton, where he died, May 4, 1483.

<sup>b</sup> The earl of Warwick repaired to Calais, the garrison of which adhered to him through all the subsequent changes.

with the Douglasses; he burns Inverness, but soon retires.

A.D. 1457. The French and Bretons ravage the English coast; they plunder Sandwich, Aug. 28.

The truce with Scotland renewed for four years, Dec. 31.

A.D. 1458. The queen and the duke of York are formally reconciled, March 25.

Magdalen College, Oxford, founded by William Waynflete<sup>c</sup>, bishop of Winchester, July 18.

An attempt made to assassinate the earl of Warwick, in London, Sept. 9; he repairs to the north, and arranges with his father (the earl of Salisbury) and the duke of York for their defence.

A.D. 1459. The earl of Salisbury marches to join the duke of York; on his way he defeats and kills Lord Audley, a Lancastrian, at Blore-heath, in Staffordshire, Sept. 23.

\* His father's name was Richard Pattyn, but the son was usually styled William Waynflete from the place of his birth. Like Chicheley he was a Winchester scholar, and like him he imitated Wykeham by founding a college. He was for a while master of Winchester school, was in 1443 appointed provost of Eton, and in 1447 succeeded Cardinal Beaufort as bishop of Winchester. He soon after commenced his academical foundation by procuring licence to found St. Mary Magdalen Hall (May 6, 1448), but did not obtain the foundation charter of his college until 1458. He held the post of chancellor from 1456 to 1460, and was with Henry VI. at the second battle of Northampton. He was known as a decided partisan of the house of Lancaster, but was so generally esteemed for his integrity, that Edward IV. not only allowed him to retire unmolested to his see and granted him a general pardon, but also became visitor of his college and bestowed lands on it. Bishop Waynflete died Aug. 11, 1486, and was buried at Winchester, where his tomb is still kept in repair by Magdalen College.



Arms of Magdalen College,  
Oxford.

The earls of Salisbury and Warwick join the duke of York; the Lancastrians, headed by the queen, advance to Ludlow against him, when Sir Andrew Trollope<sup>d</sup> deserts to them, Oct. 13; a pardon is offered, and the duke's army disbands<sup>e</sup>.

A parliament held at Coventry, in which the duke of York and his chief adherents are attainted, Nov. 20.

A.D. 1460. The Yorkist lords at Calais, invited by the people of Kent, land at Sandwich, about Midsummer; they enter London with a large army, July 2.

The queen raises a force, which is totally defeated by the Yorkists at Northampton, July 10; the duke of Buckingham, the queen's general, is killed, the king taken prisoner, and the queen and her son obliged to flee to Scotland.

James II. of Scotland is killed by the bursting of a cannon at the siege of Roxburgh, Aug. 3; he is succeeded by his son James III., a child not seven years old.

The parliament assembles, Oct. 7.

The duke of York returns from Ireland, Oct. 9; he makes a formal claim of the crown, Oct. 16.

A compromise is effected, that Henry shall retain the crown for life, and be succeeded by the duke of York; the proceedings of the parliament at Coventry in 1459 are set aside as illegal, [39 Hen. VI. c. 1].

The queen raises an army in the north, and advances

<sup>d</sup> He was killed on the Lancastrian side at Towton.

<sup>e</sup> He fled with one of his sons (the earl of Rutland) to Ireland; the earls of March, Salisbury, and Warwick escaped to Calais, and ravaged the English coast with their ships, capturing on one occasion Lord Rivers and other Lancastrians, who were assembling a force against them at Sandwich.

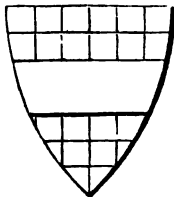
against the Yorkists; the duke of York leaves London to oppose her.

The duke of York is besieged by Margaret in Sandal castle, near Wakefield; he sallies out, and attacks her army, but is defeated and killed, Dec. 31. His son, the earl of Rutland, is taken and butchered in cold blood by Lord Clifford<sup>f</sup>; and the earl of Salisbury and several other prisoners beheaded without trial at Pontefract, the next day.

A.D. 1461. The young duke of York (afterwards Edward IV.) defeats the earl of Pembroke<sup>g</sup> at Mortimer's Cross (near Wigmore), Feb. 2. The earl's father and several other prisoners are beheaded on the field.

The queen advances southward, and defeats the earl of Warwick at St. Alban's, Feb. 17, and rescues the king. Her partisans ravage the country, when she is

<sup>f</sup> John, lord Clifford, had been commissary-general of the Scottish marches, and from his fierce and lawless character bore the name of "the butcher." His father, Thomas, who was the nephew of Hotspur, had fallen on the Lancastrian side at the first battle of St. Alban's, and he himself was killed at Towton. He was so obnoxious to the Yorkists, that his son Henry owed his life to being brought up as a shepherd, in which state he remained until the accession of Henry VII., who restored his title and estates; he served at the battle of Flodden, and died in 1535. Robert, a younger son of "the butcher," was employed by Henry VII. as a spy, and his treachery proved fatal to Sir William Stanley and many others.



Arms of Clifford.

<sup>g</sup> Jasper Tudor, second son of Owen Tudor and Queen Katherine. He escaped from the field, and though by marriage nearly allied to the House of York, (his wife was sister to the queen of Edward IV.) lived an exile for years, carrying about with him his young nephew, afterwards Henry VII. He died in 1496, then having the title of duke of Bedford. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was his grandson.



refused admission into London, and obliged to retire to the north.

The duke of York enters London, Feb. 28. His army being mustered in St. John's Fields on Sunday, March 2, the Lord Falconbridge<sup>h</sup> addresses the citizens in favour of the duke's right to the crown.

The duke urges his claim before a council of such peers, prelates, and chief citizens as can be collected, who declare him king, March 3.

<sup>h</sup> William Neville, a younger brother of the earl of Salisbury; like him, he obtained his title by marrying an heiress. In 1462 he was created earl of Kent, and died soon after. A natural son of the preceding lord, called the Bastard of Falconbridge, was admiral of Warwick's navy when Henry VI. was restored; he in May, 1471, attempted to seize the Tower, where Edward's queen and young family resided: being repulsed from London, he lived awhile by piracy, having at one time a fleet of near 50 ships at Sandwich, but was at last captured and beheaded.

# THE PLANTAGENETS.

## HOUSE OF YORK.



Badges of the House of York.

**L**IONEL of Antwerp, duke of Clarence and earl of Ulster, the third son of Edward III., was the ancestor of this house, as his younger brother John was of the usurping Lancastrians. His wife was Elizabeth, heiress of William de Burgh, who had been killed by some of his fellow Anglo-Irish chiefs, and it was to recover her patrimony, which had been shared according to the native laws, that his expeditions to Ireland<sup>a</sup> were mainly undertaken. Their only daughter, Philippa, became the wife of Edmund, and the mother of Roger Mortimer, earl of March and Ulster, who was in 1385 declared presumptive heir to the throne, and was killed in Ireland in 1398. He had married Eleonora, the daughter of Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, (half-brother of Richard II.,) and left a son and two daughters. His son Edmund

<sup>a</sup> See vol. i. p. 393.

was the true heir to the throne, but was set aside by the parliament, and died without issue in 1424. His daughter Anne had in the meanwhile married Richard, earl of Cambridge, (second son of Edmund of Langley, duke of York,) and was by him the mother of one son, Richard, who, though he never bore the title, is justly to be regarded as the first king of the House of York<sup>b</sup>.

Neither the place nor the date of Richard's birth have been fully ascertained, but he cannot have been more than five years of age when his father was put to death<sup>c</sup>. He was placed in the guardianship of Joan, countess of Westmoreland, whose youngest daughter, Cicely, he afterwards married. In 1425 he was relieved from corruption of blood, and succeeded to the estates and titles of his uncles, Edward, duke of York, and Edmund, earl of March. In 1430 the important office of constable was bestowed on him; in 1432, though very young, he was employed to guard the coasts of Normandy, and in 1436 he advanced almost to the gates of Paris. He was recalled in the following year, and though sent again in 1439 as lieutenant and captain to Normandy, he was again superseded by Beaufort, marquis of Dorset, who weakly or treacherously suffered himself to be expelled by the French, and then returning to England shared with Queen Margaret the direction of public affairs. York firmly opposed him, and in order to remove such an obstacle to their pro-

<sup>b</sup> In the first parliament of his son's reign an act was passed [1 Edw. IV. c. 1], in which he is styled "the right noble and famous prince of worthy memory, Richard, late duke of York . . . in his life very king in right of the realm of England, singular protector, lover and defensour of the good governance, policy, commonweal, peace and tranquillity thereof."

<sup>c</sup> See p. 35.

jects, he was made lieutenant of Ireland for ten years, from July 5, 1449.

Up to this time the duke of York had silently acquiesced in the Lancastrian usurpation, but he now (urged, it is said, by his brother-in-law and nephew, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick,) began to put forward his claim to the crown, having by his wise and mild government gained the firm support of the Irish, whose affection for his house continued unabated even after its fall\*. His claim was resisted far more strenuously by Margaret, and by Dorset (who had become duke of Somerset), than by Henry himself, and was looked on with favour by the bulk of the nation, not only from its real weight and the duke's brilliant services, but also from hatred to those who had lost the conquests of Henry V. Attempts were made to accommodate the dispute by bringing Somerset to trial, and declaring the duke of York Protector of the realm; but these failed through the violent spirit of Margaret, and arms were at length resorted to. The first battle was fought at St. Alban's (May 23, 1455); Somerset was there killed, and York again acknowledged Protector. This appointment was soon after revoked by Henry, and the Yorkists were obliged to retire. A formal reconciliation followed, but it was broken by an attempt to assassinate the earl of Warwick. The battle of Bloreheath next occurred (Sept. 23, 1459), where the Lancastrians were again defeated, but through treachery the Yorkist army was

\* He himself found safety there, with his son, the earl of Rutland, in 1459; they fought in the cause of his pretended grandson, Lambert Simnel, and afterwards joined Richard, who was probably the true heir.

soon after dispersed, and the duke and his friends having taken to flight, were attainted by a parliament held at Coventry.

In the summer of 1460 they returned, defeated the Lancastrians at Northampton, took Henry prisoner, and had the duke of York declared heir to the throne. Margaret, however, did not abide by this, but raising a force in Scotland and the north of England, she advanced southward. The duke marched to meet her, but, by some mismanagement not to be expected in so experienced a soldier, he suffered himself to be surrounded by her forces, and besieged in Sandal castle, in Yorkshire; and then, with equal imprudence, sallying out before his reinforcements arrived, he fell into an ambuscade and was killed, near Wakefield, Dec. 31, 1460. His head was placed on the wall of York, and garnished with a paper crown, but was taken down after the battle of Towton, and interred with his body and that of his son, the earl of Rutland, at Pontefract. Thence the bodies were removed in July, 1466, and buried with royal pomp at Fotheringhay.

By his marriage with the daughter of Ralph, earl of Westmoreland, (who survived until May 31, 1495, when she died at Berkhamstead, and was then buried with him at Fotheringhay,) he had a family of eight sons and four daughters. Of these,

EDWARD and RICHARD became kings.

Edmund, earl of Rutland, born at Rouen, May 17, 1443, was killed at Wakefield, Dec. 31, 1460.

Henry, William, John, Thomas, and Ursula, died young.

George, born at Dublin in 1449, was created duke of Clarence, and also appointed lieutenant of Ireland (Feb. 28, 1462), soon after his brother's accession. He, however, conceived himself neglected and injured by the aggrandizement of the Woodvilles, and leagued with the earl of Warwick (whose daughter Isabel he married) first against them, and eventually against the king. His fickle temper led him to forsake Warwick shortly after, but his reconciliation with Edward was probably not sincere. A quarrel next arose with Richard, duke of Gloucester, concerning the Warwick estates, which Clarence endeavoured to secure entirely to himself, and which Gloucester was resolved to share; then fresh dissensions occurred with the Woodvilles, Clarence apparently gave his sanction to an attempt to calculate "the death and final destruction of the king and prince," was thereupon convicted of treason, and was found dead in the Tower shortly after (Feb. 18, 1478<sup>d</sup>). His wife and youngest child had died by poison about a year before, but he left a son and a daughter (Edward, earl of Warwick, and Margaret, countess of Salisbury), who both suffered death in the same prison under the Tudors.

Of the duke of York's daughters, Anne married Henry Holland, duke of Exeter<sup>e</sup>, but obtained a divorce

\* His death is commonly ascribed to the machinations of his brother Richard, but is more probably attributable to the Woodvilles; Anthony, Earl Rivers, had the grant of a part of his estates, the pretence being that Clarence had expressed a wish to that effect, in order to make amends for the "great injuries and mighty offences" he had formerly done to the earl and his family.

\* He was a Lancastrian, lived awhile in exile, in abject poverty, (see p. 79,) and returning in 1470, was wounded and left for dead at Barnet; he was conveyed to sanctuary at Westminster, but being

from him, and then married Sir Thomas St. Leger. She died in 1475, leaving by her second husband a daughter, Anne, who married Sir George Manners, the ancestor of the dukes of Rutland.

Elizabeth married John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and was the mother of John, earl of Lincoln, who was killed in the battle of Stoke; Edmund, earl of Suffolk, beheaded in 1513; Richard, known as the White Rose of England, killed in the battle of Pavia; Humphrey and Edward, who preserved their lives by entering the Church; and two daughters.

Margaret married Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, and surviving him near thirty years died at Mechlin, in 1503.

The peculiar seat of the House of York was the castle of Fotheringhay, on the Nen, in Northamptonshire. The manor was granted by Edward III. to his son Edmund of Langley, who rebuilt great part of the castle, and commenced the foundation of a collegiate church, dedicated to the blessed Virgin and All Saints, which was carried on by his son, and completed by his grandson, Richard, whose body was, in 1466, buried there under a handsome shrine on the north side of the high altar. His wife, the duchess Cicely, and their son, the earl of Rutland, were buried beside him; but the college being suppressed under Edward VI., and its site granted to Dudley, duke of Northumberland, the church, as was but too usual, was dismantled<sup>f</sup>, and the royal tombs fell

unable to obtain his pardon, his wife opposing it, he left his asylum, and was soon after found dead on the coast of Kent.

<sup>f</sup> Some of the richly carved stalls have been preserved in the neighbouring churches of Hemington and Tansor; they are decorated with the Yorkist badges and crests.

to decay. At length Queen Elizabeth, visiting the spot, ordered the bodies to be removed to the parish church, where monuments, "by no means worthy," says Camden, "of such princes, sons of kings, and progenitors of kings of England," still exist to their memory.

So troubled a period as the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV. and Richard III., might seem little favourable to peaceful pursuits, yet considerable progress was made both in commerce and in the encouragement of learning. The Statute-book, particularly of the Yorkist princes, shews how carefully what were then conceived the true interests of the nation as to trade were legislated for; and the period which witnessed the foundation of numerous colleges and halls in both Universities<sup>g</sup>, and of the public schools and library at Oxford, cannot justly be reproached as neglectful of the liberal arts. Indeed Edward and Richard were distinguished patrons of learning, although engaged in an almost incessant struggle for their lives. Edward pardoned the Lancastrian chancellor, Wayneflete, and the judge, Sir John Fortescue, though both his active opponents, apparently on account of their literary merits; and among his chief favourites were the accomplished scholar, John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester<sup>h</sup>, and Anthony Woodville, earl of Rivers, a gallant cavalier, though a man of doubtful character, but worthy of remembrance as the elegant

<sup>g</sup> Lincoln, All Souls', and Magdalen Colleges, at Oxford; King's and Queens' Colleges and Catherine Hall, at Cambridge; and Eton College, still exist of the foundations of this era.

<sup>h</sup> Caxton laments his death with simple earnestness: "O good blessed Lord God! what great loss was it of that noble, virtuous, and well-disposed lord, the earl of Worcester.....At his death the axe did at one blow cut off more learning than was in the heads of all the surviving nobility."



poet, the translator of moral works, and the generous patron of William Caxton, who introduced the art of printing to England under his auspices.

Nothing can be more unjust than the tone that modern historians in general have adopted towards the House of York, the members and the partisans of which are represented as guilty of innumerable crimes, many of them, in all probability, being mere inventions of writers in the interest of the Tudors, whose object in vilifying their predecessors is sufficiently obvious. Though the fact is indisputable that Richard, duke of York, was the legitimate king, and the Lancastrians mere intruders, he is ordinarily spoken of as a rebel, and thus is laid on him the odium of the murderous conflict, so well known as the War of the Roses, (in which, according to a vague, but probably not exaggerated estimate, 12 princes of the blood, 200 other nobles, and 100,000 of the knights, gentry, and common people perished,) when in reality this awful amount of bloodshed flowed from the treason of Henry of Bolingbroke.

The falcon and featherlock, the sun in splendour, and the white rose, (often with the emblem of the Passion in its centre,) are the peculiar badges of the House of York; many other emblems are found, but they are rather the personal distinctions of each prince, as the lion rampant argent, of the earl of March; the black bull, of Clarence; and the white boar, of Gloucester.



Crown of Mortimer.



Edward IV., from his Great Seal.

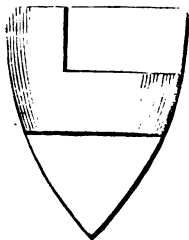
## EDWARD IV.

EDWARD, the second son of Richard, duke of York, and Cicely, daughter of the earl of Westmoreland, was born at Rouen, April 29, 1441, while his father held the office of regent of France for Henry VI. He was obliged to flee to Calais when the Yorkist forces were dispersed in 1459, but returned in the following summer, when they gained a great victory at Northampton, and soon after the duke of York was recognised by the parliament as heir to the throne. At the end of the year the duke was killed at Wakefield, but Edward shortly after defeated the Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross, and boldly advancing on London, in spite of a defeat experienced at St. Alban's by his chief partisan, the earl of Warwick, he entered the city Feb. 28, and was received as king March 4, 1461.

He had, however, to leave London almost immediately to meet the forces of Queen Margaret, and having defeated them at Towton, March 29, thus secured

his throne. The Lancastrians rose again in 1464, but were defeated, and so completely crushed that they could offer no further opposition; Margaret retired to the continent, and Henry fell into his hands. Quarrels, however, arose between the duke of Clarence, the earl of Warwick, and others of the old nobility, and the family of his queen<sup>b</sup>, in consequence of which he was driven into exile, and King Henry restored, in 1470. Edward soon returned, however, defeated all his opponents at Barnet and at Tewkesbury, captured Queen Margaret, and reigned undisturbed by civil war, though by no means free from

<sup>b</sup> The Woodvilles were a Northamptonshire family, and their ancestors had frequently held the shrievalty there. Richard, the new queen's father, had married Jaqueline, duchess of Bedford; he held at different times the offices of seneschal of Normandy, constable of the tower, and lieutenant of Calais; he was in 1448 ennobled, and being a warm partisan of the House of Lancaster, was in 1459 seized at Sandwich by some of the exiled Yorkists and carried a prisoner to Calais. He was soon released, lived apparently in retirement for a few succeeding years, and shortly after his daughter's marriage was created earl Rivers, and received many valuable grants, and the offices of constable and treasurer. At length, on the breaking out of the troubles which drove Edward IV. for a while into exile, the earl and his son John were captured at Grafton and beheaded. He left a large family, of whom Anthony succeeded him as Earl Rivers, and also lost his life by violence; Lionel became bishop of Salisbury, conspired against Richard III. and died in exile; and Richard was killed in Brittany in 1489.



Arms of Woodville, Earl Rivers.

Anthony, in right of his wife, became Lord Scales, and is celebrated for his gallantry and love of literature. He received from Edward IV. a grant of the Isle of Wight, fled with him to Holland, and on his return was appointed governor of Calais and captain general. He was the governor of his nephew, Edward V., but being seized at Stony Stratford, in April, 1483, was carried into Yorkshire, and beheaded at Pontefract about the 26th of June, by order of Richard III., with whom he had been long at variance.

disquietudes from the protection which the exiled Lancastrians met with abroad. He was engaged during the greater part of his reign in either covert or open attacks upon Scotland<sup>1</sup>, and he also, in 1475, led an army into France, but he effected nothing of consequence in either country; he was equally unsuccessful in a number of marriages which he planned for his children while yet infants, none of which took effect, and he died rather suddenly, April 9, 1483, after a reign of twenty-two years, marked by more cruelty and licentiousness than any former king had exhibited.

In 1463, or 1464, Edward married Elizabeth Woodville<sup>2</sup>, the widow of Sir John Grey, and daughter of Jaqueline, formerly duchess of Bedford. The queen's relatives were all Lancastrians, they were also needy, but they were speedily married to the richest heirs and heiresses<sup>3</sup>, and engrossed the favour of the king to the exclusion of those who had placed him on the throne. This was deeply resented, and caused his temporary expulsion; several of the Woodvilles perished on the scaf-

<sup>1</sup> His interference was highly resented, and in an Act of the Scottish Parliament of 1481 he is styled "the revare (robber) Edward calland him king of England."

<sup>2</sup> The partisans of his brother Richard asserted that he had a wife living at the time, Eleanor, daughter of Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, and widow of Lord Butler, son of James, earl of Ormond and Wiltshire, and the proofs of their statement appeared satisfactory to the first parliament of Richard III., but the Tudor writers allege that she was only his mistress.

<sup>3</sup> Her brother Anthony married the daughter of Lord Scales, believed to be the wealthiest heiress in the kingdom, and intended as the wife of the young duke of Clarence; John, another brother, married the dowager duchess of Norfolk; her son, Sir Thomas Grey, married the infant daughter of the duke of Exeter (she was Edward's niece); and her five sisters were amply provided for in like manner; one of them (Katherine) married the young duke of Buckingham, who was a ward of the crown.

fold; the queen was obliged twice to take sanctuary; and she at last died (June 8, 1492) in confinement in the nunnery at Bermondsey, where she had been placed by her son-in-law, Henry VII.

The children of Edward and Elizabeth were three sons and seven daughters.

1. EDWARD, became king.

2. Richard, born in 1473, was created duke of York, and also appointed lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Gormanstown being his deputy. In 1477 he was married to Anne, the heiress of John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, but she died shortly after, and he is usually said to have been murdered with his brother, in the Tower, by order of their uncle, the duke of Gloucester; the fact, however, is far from certain.

3. George, created duke of Bedford, died an infant.

Mary and Margaret died young; Bridget (born 1480) died a nun at Dartford in 1517.

Of the remaining princesses, Elizabeth married Henry VII. Cicely (born 1469) married first Lord Wells, and afterwards Sir John Kyme; she died in 1507. Anne (born 1475) married Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, Feb. 4, 1494, and died 1512. Katherine (born 1479) married William Courtenay, earl of Devon, and died 1527. Her son was Henry, marquis of Exeter, beheaded in 1538, on a charge of corresponding with his cousin, Reginald Pole.

Edward left two natural children: 1. Arthur, who married an heiress, and was created Viscount Lisle<sup>1</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> His daughter Frances married Thomas Monk, a gentleman of Devon, and ancestor of Monk, duke of Albemarle.

he was a military commander, but being accused of a design of betraying Calais, he was imprisoned in the Tower, where he died, March 3, 1542, it is said of joy at learning that the king was satisfied of his innocence ; 2. Elizabeth, who married Sir Thomas Lumley.

The royal arms and motto were the same in this as in the preceding reign, but Edward employed other supporters, chiefly the badges of various ancestral possessions. Some existing examples have a black bull and a white lion, (Clarence and March); some a white lion



Arms of Edward IV.

and a white hart; others two white lions. His badges are numerous, and likewise allude either to the possessions or the varying fortunes of his family. The black bull is the symbol of Clarence; the black dragon, of Ulster; the white wolf, the emblem of the Mortimers; the white hart shews his kindred with Richard II.; while the falcon and fetterlock indicate the depression, and the sun in splendour the triumph, of his house<sup>1</sup>.

Edward possessed great military skill and undaunted

<sup>1</sup> Shakspeare thus alludes to the latter well-known emblem :—

“ Now is the winter of our discontent  
Made glorious summer by the Sun of York !”

courage, a handsome person and fascinating manners; but he was also unscrupulous, licentious, and cruel. The fickleness of his temper is seen in his abandoning his father's and his own greatest friends, the Nevilles, for new favourites from his queen's family; his rapacity, in the "benevolences" which he extorted; and his want of natural affection, in the part he acted in the destruction of his brother Clarence. It was remarked that he witnessed an execution with as much pleasure as others would a pageant; and indeed he seems seldom to have extended mercy to those who fell in his power, being apparently more desirous to exterminate than to conciliate his opponents.

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A.D. 1461. Edward is solemnly installed at Westminster as king, March 4<sup>m</sup>.

He marches into the north, and defeats the Lancastrians at Towton, near Tadcaster, March 29, with terrible slaughter<sup>n</sup>. Henry, his queen and son, with some of their adherents, escape to Scotland, but many are taken and executed<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> His regnal years are computed from this day.

<sup>n</sup> Lord Clifford was killed the day before in a skirmish at Ferrybridge, as were Lord Fitzwalter and a natural brother of the earl of Warwick; the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, lords Dacre and Wells, Sir Andrew Trollope and many other knights fell at Towton.

<sup>o</sup> Among these were the earls of Devonshire and of Ormond and Wiltshire, the father-in-law of Lady Eleanor Butler, who was very probably the wife of Edward. But in this horrible contest all ties of kindred or alliance seem to have been systematically disregarded by both parties; almost every family had fathers, sons, brothers arrayed against each other:—

"Long years of havoc urge their destined course,  
And through the kindred squadrons mow their way."

Henry surrenders Berwick to the Scots, April 25.

Edward returns to London, and is crowned, June 29, by the archbishop of Canterbury<sup>p</sup>; he creates his brothers, George and Richard, dukes of Clarence and Gloucester.

The Scottish regents are willing to assist the Lancastrians, but are embarrassed by the intrigues of Edward with the Lord of the Isles and other nobles, and obliged to agree to remain neuter.

The parliament meets, Nov. 4. It declares the Lancastrian princes usurpers [1 Edw. IV. c. 1], but allows acts done by "the said pretended kings" to remain valid, "except as to such persons, and every of them, whom our sovereign lord the king reputeth and holdeth for his rebels or enemies<sup>q</sup>."

All sheriffs except those of London, forbidden to proceed judicially<sup>r</sup>, [c. 2].

A.D. 1462. The earl of Oxford (John de Vere<sup>s</sup>), his son Aubrey, and several other Lancastrians, beheaded in London, February 26.

Edward makes a treaty for the conquest and partition

<sup>p</sup> Thomas Bouchier, brother of the earl of Essex, who was uncle to the king.

<sup>q</sup> Edward took full advantage of this comprehensive clause, and transferred lands, and privileges, and offices to his active supporters to such an extent that hundreds supposed to be Lancastrians, but not so compromised as to forfeit their lives, were yet reduced to abject poverty.

<sup>r</sup> The statute states that many liege people have been harassed by indictments and presentments "affirmed by jurors having no conscience, nor any freehold, and little goods," and even by the menial servants and bailiffs of sheriffs, merely to extort money.

<sup>s</sup> He was born in 1409, and was the grand nephew of the favourite of Richard II. He had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and had served with much distinction both by sea and land in the French wars.



of Scotland, with John, Lord of the Isles, and other nobles, Feb. 13.

Queen Margaret, by a promise to surrender Calais if it should ever be in her power, obtains a small body of French troops, who however are shipwrecked on Holy Island, and either killed or taken; she escapes to Berwick.

A.D. 1463. The duke of Somerset (Henry Beaufort<sup>t</sup>) and many other Lancastrians abandon Henry, and make terms with Edward<sup>u</sup>.

The trade in and exportation of wool regulated by statute, [3 Edw. IV. c. 1].

The importation of "wares ready wrought" forbidden, [c. 4].

The apparel of all persons regulated according to their rank, [c. 5<sup>v</sup>].

Queen Margaret again sails to France, and obtains a body of troops from Louis XI. of France. She lands in Northumberland, in October, but not being joined by the people retires to Scotland. The earl of Angus makes an inroad as far as Alnwick in her favour.

A.D. 1464. Queen Margaret marches into England,

<sup>t</sup> He was the son of the duke killed at St. Alban's in 1455. He had fled to Scotland after the battle of Towton, and now gave up Bamborough castle as the price of pardon, but he soon rejoined the Lancastrians, was taken at Hexham, and beheaded. His brothers Edmund and John suffered the same fate after the battle of Tewkesbury.

<sup>u</sup> Others fled to France, where they lived in abject poverty. Philip de Comines, indeed, asserts that he saw the duke of Exeter (the brother-in-law of Edward) begging in the streets.

<sup>v</sup> The commons of the realm, as well men as women, are said to wear excessive and inordinate apparel, to the great displeasure of God, the enriching of strange realms, and the destruction of this realm. A somewhat similar statute was passed in Scotland in 1457.

captures several northern castles, and is again joined by Somerset, the Percies, and her other adherents.

Edward marches against them.

John, Lord Montacute<sup>w</sup>, defeats the Lancastrians at Hedgley-moor (near Wooller) April 25, and at Hexham, May 15. Henry finds a refuge in Lancashire; the queen and prince retire to Flanders.

The duke of Somerset and many other prisoners are executed, and the estates and title of the Percies (earl of Northumberland) granted to Montacute.

Prince Alexander of Scotland captured at sea by the English, but released.

A fifteen years' truce concluded with Scotland, June 1; the Scots engage to give neither assistance nor shelter to the Lancastrians.

Edward avows his marriage with Elizabeth, the widow of Sir John Grey, a Lancastrian, Sept. 29<sup>x</sup>; he heaps favours on her relatives, the Woodvilles, and thus arouses the jealousy of his brothers and his great supporter, the earl of Warwick.

A.D. 1465. The manufacture of cloth regulated by statute, [4 Edw. IV. c. 1].

Passage to or from France by any other ports than Dover and Calais forbidden, except to soldiers and merchants with merchandize<sup>y</sup>, [c. 10].

<sup>w</sup> He was the brother of the earl of Warwick, and after a variety of fortune met his death with him at Barnet, in the year 1471.

<sup>x</sup> He had married her some time before, but authorities differ as to how long.

<sup>y</sup> The king's command and stress of weather, duly proved, exonerated violators of this ordinance; one half of the penalties was to go to the king; the other half to be employed upon the reparation

Edward sends ambassadors to France, Brittany, and Burgundy, to endeavour to procure the expulsion of the Lancastrians, but is unsuccessful.

Edward's queen is crowned with great pomp at Westminster, May 26.

A.D. 1466. Henry is captured in Lancashire, in July ; he is conducted to London, treated with much ignominy, and imprisoned in the Tower.

Lord Boyd, of Kilmarnock, and his brother Alexander, become the favourites of the king of Scotland, and dispose of everything at their pleasure.

A.D. 1467. The queen's relatives (the Woodvilles) endeavour to lessen the influence of the Nevilles<sup>a</sup>. In consequence, the king takes the seals from the archbishop of York, and threatens to resume the great estates they had received<sup>a</sup>.

Edward forms an alliance with the duke of Burgundy (Charles the Bold) against France, and gives him his sister Margaret in marriage<sup>b</sup>.

A.D. 1468. The giving of liveries prohibited<sup>c</sup>, [8 Edw. IV. c. 2].

The Nevilles and Woodvilles are formally reconciled.

of the castle of Dover ; or, according to another copy of the statute, given to any freeman of Dover who should sue for the same.

<sup>a</sup> Of the three brothers, Richard was earl of Warwick and Salisbury and captain of Calais ; John, earl of Northumberland and warden of the Scottish marches ; and George, archbishop of York and chancellor.

<sup>b</sup> He was empowered to do this by a statute [7 Edw. IV. c. 4] passed, as was supposed, by the advice of the Woodvilles for the resumption of improvident grants.

<sup>c</sup> They were married July 9, 1468.

<sup>d</sup> They were still allowed to be given on public occasions, and for the time only, as at coronations, installations of prelates, &c.

Edward forms alliances with the kings of Arragon and Castile, and the duke of Brittany, preparatory to an invasion of France.

A.D. 1469. The duke of Clarence marries Isabel, daughter of the earl of Warwick, July 11<sup>d</sup>, and leagues with him against the Woodvilles.

James II. of Scotland marries Margaret, daughter of Christiern I. of Denmark; the Orkney and Shetland isles are surrendered to him as security for her marriage portion.

An insurrection is raised, when the king's troops are defeated at Edgecote, near Banbury, July 26, and the queen's father and brother, together with the earl of Pembroke (William Herbert<sup>e</sup>) and his brother, captured, and executed.

The Boyds fall into disgrace; their estates are forfeited; Lord Boyd and his son, the earl of Arran, escape; Sir Alexander is executed.

The estates and titles of the Percies restored, Nov.<sup>f</sup>

A.D. 1470. The Lancastrians rise in Lincolnshire, under Sir Robert Wells, but are speedily suppressed, March.

The earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence are

<sup>d</sup> The ceremony was performed at Calais, by Archbishop Neville.

<sup>e</sup> His will, made the day after the battle, contains the following affecting passage addressed to his wife: "Remember your promise to me, to take the order of widowhood, as ye may be the better master of your own, to perform my will, and to help my children, as I love and trust you." He concludes, "Wife, pray for me, and take the said order that ye promised me, as ye had in my life my heart and love. God have mercy upon me, and save you and our children, and our Lady and all the saints in heaven help me to salvation. Amen."

<sup>f</sup> John Neville, the new-made earl, was, in recompense, raised to the higher title of marquis of Montacute.

denounced as traitors by the king, March 31; they flee to Calais, but being refused admission, retire to France, where they are received by Louis XI.

Warwick is reconciled to Queen Margaret, and agrees to assist in restoring King Henry<sup>8</sup>; his daughter Anne is married to the young prince in July or August.

Clarence becomes dissatisfied, and secretly promises to rejoin his brother.

Warwick and Clarence land at Dartmouth, Sept. 13.

Edward assembles an army against them, but being deserted by Lord Montacute (Warwick's brother) flees to Lynn, and there embarks for Flanders, Oct. 3<sup>h</sup>.

Warwick enters London, Oct. 5, releases King Henry from the Tower<sup>1</sup>, but himself assumes all the powers of government.

John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester<sup>1</sup>, is captured and beheaded, Oct. 15.

<sup>\*</sup> It is believed that Warwick originally designed to make the duke of Clarence king, but finding this distasteful to both Yorkists and Lancastrians, he undertook the restoration of Henry VI., at the instigation of Louis XI. of France, who lived in constant apprehension of an attack from Edward. Clarence, enraged at being thus put aside, prepared to desert his confederates at the first opportunity.

<sup>h</sup> His queen took sanctuary at Westminster, Oct. 1, and her eldest son (afterwards Edward V.) was born there Nov. 4.

<sup>1</sup> Henry dated the resumption of the royal power from Oct. 9; and on the 13th of the same month he went to St. Paul's, in great state, to return thanks for his restoration.

<sup>j</sup> He was the brother-in-law of Warwick, having married his sister Cicely. He was educated at Oxford, and after visiting the Holy Land, resided for some years in Italy, where his learning and eloquence attracted much attention. On his return to England he was promoted to many high offices by Edward IV., and refusing to abandon his cause, was put to death on charges of mal-administration in Ireland, where he had been successively chancellor, deputy, and lieutenant, as well as constable of England; he is said by the Lancastrian writers to have acted with great cruelty in this latter office, but this is probably a calumny.

A.D. 1471. A parliament held at Westminster, which repeals the attainder of the Lancastrians, attaints the Yorkists, and settles the crown anew on King Henry and his son Edward, and, in case of failure of issue, on the duke of Clarence.

Edward sails from Zealand with a small force, March 11, and lands at Ravenspur (at the mouth of the Humber) March 14.

Edward makes oath in York minster that he only desires to recover his family estates (probably Mar. 19), but being joined by numerous partisans he reassumes the name of king.

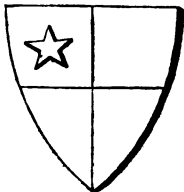
Clarence joins him at Coventry, March 30, when he advances to London, is admitted by the archbishop of York (Warwick's brother), and sends King Henry again to the Tower, April 11.

Warwick follows him from Coventry, but is defeated and killed at Barnet, April 14<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> One reason commonly assigned for this defeat is, that Warwick's men mistook the badge of the earl of Oxford's men for that of the king, which it nearly resembled, and attacked their new allies, who, suspecting treachery, hastily left the field.

John de Vere, earl of Oxford, was born in 1442. Although his father and brother had been beheaded as Lancastrians, (see p. 78,) he was favoured by Edward IV., but quitted his party when Henry VI. was restored, and sat as lord steward in judgment on Tiptoft, earl of Worcester. The Lancastrians being shortly after defeated at Barnet, he fled first to Scotland, then to France, and obtaining a few vessels in Brittany, he supported himself for a while by piracy, and also seized on St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, where he resolutely endured a siege of some months.

He was at last obliged to surrender, when he was sent to the castle of Hammes, in Picardy, where he remained until 1484. He then induced the governor of the place and many of the garrison to espouse



Arms of De Vere, earl of Oxford.

Queen Margaret lands at Weymouth, April 14. On receiving the news of Warwick's death she seeks sanctuary at Beaulieu, but being joined by the duke of Somerset (Edmund Beaufort) and others, again takes the field.

Edward marches against the Lancastrians, totally defeats them at Tewkesbury<sup>1</sup>, Saturday May 4, takes Margaret prisoner, and puts to death the duke of Somerset and many other nobles<sup>m</sup>.

King Henry is found dead in the Tower shortly after<sup>n</sup>.

A great council held, at which an oath is taken to the cause of Henry of Richmond, accompanied him to England, and powerfully contributed to his victory at Bosworth. He received large grants of the confiscated estates of the duke of Clarence, of the Nevilles, and of Catesby, was appointed constable of the Tower, and admiral, and survived until March 4, 1513, when he died, and was succeeded by his nephew. His wife, the sister of the earl of Warwick, is said to have supported herself during a part of his imprisonment by her needle, but at length her "great poverty" was relieved by a pension of £100 a year from Edward IV., which Richard III. continued to her (Patent Roll, 21 Edw. IV. p. 1, m. 10, and 1 Rich. III. p. 5, m. 132).

<sup>1</sup> One of the parties killed was John, lord Wenlock, who had formerly been an officer of Queen Margaret's household, and had been wounded on the Lancastrian side at the first battle of St. Alban's. He however soon after joined the Yorkists, fought for them at Towton, and received, beside many grants of lands, the office of chief butler. He also was made lieutenant of Calais under the earl of Warwick, and was greatly trusted by Edward IV., being employed on several important commercial embassies. He joined in the attempt to restore Henry VI., and was one of those who induced Margaret to renew the struggle after the defeat at Barnet. He, however, took no part in the battle at Tewkesbury, and Somerset, suspecting that he waited an opportunity of joining the king, rushed on him, and killed him with his own hands.

<sup>m</sup> The young prince Edward is stated, in a cotemporary manuscript, to have been killed while flying from the field, and not to have been butchered in Edward's presence, as commonly reported; the duke of Somerset, lord St. John, and about a dozen knights and squires, were dragged from the church, where they had taken sanctuary, and beheaded, May 6.

<sup>n</sup> The day of Henry's death is not certainly known; but it seems probable that it was early in June.

maintain the right of Edward's infant son as his successor, July 3.

A parliament meets at Westminster, October 5, which attaints many members of the Lancastrian party; several bishops, however, who had acted with them in the late commotions, are pardoned.

A.D. 1472. The archbishop of York (George Neville) is stripped of his possessions and imprisoned at Guisnes, near Calais, on the charge of correspondence with the Lancastrian exiles.

A.D. 1473. The earl of Oxford surprises Mount St. Michael, in Cornwall, in September, but being obliged to surrender (in February, 1474,) he is imprisoned for many years in the castle of Hammes, near Calais.

The dukes of Clarence and Gloucester quarrel about the inheritance of the earl of Warwick<sup>o</sup>.

Edward renews his alliances with foreign states preparatory to an attack on France.

He obtains large sums of money from the parliament, and also extorts "benevolences, or free gifts," by which, says the Chronicler of Croyland, "each man gave to the king what he pleased, or rather, what he did not please."

Catherine Hall, Cambridge, founded.

The prince of Wales allowed to give his livery and badge, notwithstanding existing statutes, [12 Edw. IV. c. 4].

\* Warwick left only two daughters; Isabel was in 1469 married to Clarence, and Anne to Edward, prince of Wales. After the death of Warwick and the prince, Clarence endeavoured to retain the whole of the estates, and therefore laboured strenuously to prevent his sister-in-law from marrying again, even obliging her to disguise herself as a cook-maid; but the duke of Gloucester discovered the cheat, and married her.



Wears obstructing rivers ordered to be pulled down, [12 Edw. IV. e. 7<sup>p</sup>].

A.D. 1474. Edward passes the year in preparing for an expedition to France.

Special privileges as to livery of lands and other matters granted to persons who should accompany the king to France, [14 Edw. IV. cc. 1, 2].

A.D. 1475. Edward lands at Calais, July, and demands the crown of France.

He is deceived in his expectations of support from the duke of Burgundy; agrees to a truce for seven years, Aug. 29, has an interview with Louis XI., who promises him a large pension, and returns to England, Sept. 28<sup>a</sup>.

Donald, Lord of the Isles, is attainted by the Scottish parliament, Nov. 27<sup>r</sup>.

A.D. 1476. Edward endeavours in vain to induce the duke of Brittany (Francis II.) to surrender the earls of Pembroke and Richmond<sup>s</sup>.

A.D. 1477. The earl of Mar, brother of James II. of Scotland, expressing his hatred of the king's low-born favourites<sup>t</sup>, is imprisoned, and soon after dies, from what cause is uncertain. His brother, the duke of Albany, is also seized, but escapes to France.

<sup>p</sup> This was only doing what Magna Charta had provided should be done, 250 years before. See vol. i. p. 290.

<sup>q</sup> Philip de Comines places the conduct of Edward's councillors in a very odious light; according to him, they all received bribes from the French king.

<sup>r</sup> He was restored in blood the following year, but his possessions on the mainland of Scotland (Ross, Cantyre, Knapdale, and other tracts) were annexed to the crown.

<sup>s</sup> Jasper and Henry Tudor. See p. 62.

<sup>t</sup> The king had a taste for the fine arts, and gave much more of his favour and society to their professors than was agreeable to his brothers or his fierce nobles.

The duke of Clarence retires from court<sup>u</sup>; Thomas Burdett and John Stacy, dependants of his, are executed on frivolous charges<sup>v</sup>. Clarence returns, and asserts their innocence before the council.

A.D. 1478. The circulation of Irish money in England forbidden, [17 Edw. IV. c. 1].

The exportation of coin or plate without the king's licence, declared felony [Ibid.].

Clarence is committed to the Tower, Jan. 16; brought to trial, when the king pleads personally against him, and condemned to death, Feb. 7; he is found dead in the

<sup>u</sup> His duchess and his youngest son, Richard, had died shortly before, and John Thursby and Ankerett Twinnewe were convicted before the judges in Warwickshire, of having poisoned them, at the instigation of Sir Roger Tocotes, another member of the duke's household; Sir Roger's trial was removed into the court of King's Bench, but he was either acquitted or pardoned. He was concerned in the risings against Richard III., and was attainted, but eventually received a pardon.

<sup>v</sup> Burdett was charged with having, in confederacy with Stacy, procured Thomas Blake, a clerk, to calculate the nativities of the king and his eldest son. This was in November, 1474, according to the indictment afterwards found against them. Stacy and Blake "worked and calculated by art magic, necromancy and astronomy, the death and final destruction of the king and prince . . . although according to the determinations of holy Church, and the opinions of divers doctors, it is forbidden to any liegeman thus to meddle concerning kings and princes in manner aforesaid, without their permission." In May, 1475, they are said to have treacherously made known to many persons that they had ascertained that the king and prince would shortly die, "to the intent that the cordial love of the people might be withdrawn from the king, and the king, by knowledge of the same, would be saddened thereby, so that his life would be thereby shortened." Burdett was further charged with "dispersing and disseminating divers seditious and treasonable bills and writings, rhymes, and ballads, containing complaints, seditions, and treasonable arguments." The prisoners were tried and found guilty by a special commission, July 19, and Burdett and Stacy were the next day executed at Tyburn, but Blake obtained a pardon, at the intercession of the bishop of Norwich, (James Goldwell).

Tower, Feb. 18; many of his estates are granted to Anthony Woodville, earl Rivers, the queen's brother.

A.D. 1479. England ravaged by a pestilence.

A.D. 1480. Louis XI. refuses to abide by the treaty of 1475<sup>w</sup>.

War breaks out with Scotland; the duke of Gloucester makes an unsuccessful attempt on Berwick.

A.D. 1481. The English fleet sails into the Frith of Forth, but effects little.

The English and Scottish armies face each other for a considerable time on the borders, and then withdraw without a battle.

A.D. 1482. The duke of Albany comes from France, styles himself king of Scotland<sup>x</sup>, and by treaties (dated at Fotheringhay, June 10 and 11,) engages to hold the kingdom of Scotland as a fief of England, to break off all alliances with France, to surrender Berwick and the frontier districts of Annandale, Eskdale and Liddisdale, and to marry Cicely, Edward's daughter<sup>y</sup>.

Berwick is invested by the dukes of Gloucester and Albany, in July.

James of Scotland raises an army, and marches towards the border. Archibald, earl of Angus, seizes the royal favourites and hangs them<sup>z</sup>, when the king is carried a prisoner to Edinburgh, and his army disbands itself.

<sup>w</sup> See p. 87.

<sup>x</sup> He declared the king to be illegitimate.

<sup>y</sup> This princess, a child, was already engaged to his nephew, prince James; and he himself had two wives (one, the daughter of the earl of Orkney, he had abandoned) living, and a family by each.

<sup>z</sup> Their names have been preserved: Cochrane, an architect, Rogers, a musician, Preston, Hommel, Torfegan, and Leonard, whose occupations do not appear. The only gentleman, John Ramsay, was spared.

The dukes leave the siege of Berwick, and capture Edinburgh.

The king and Albany are apparently reconciled, and the English army retires, early in August.

Berwick is captured by the duke of Gloucester.

A.D. 1483. Louis XI. of France breaks off a marriage contract which had been formed between his son and the king's daughter Elizabeth. Edward, in consequence, prepares for war.

An act passed conferring many important trading privileges on the town of Berwick<sup>a</sup>, [22 Edw. IV. c. 8].

The duke of Albany renews his alliance with the English, by treaty dated Feb. 11.

Edward dies, April 9; he is buried in St. George's chapel, Windsor, April 19, his nephew, the earl of Lincoln, attending as chief mourner<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> The trade with Scotland is ordered to be shared between Carlisle and Berwick, and the burgesses of the latter town are to have, exclusively, the farm of the salmon fishings in the Tweed, and the trade in the fish.

<sup>b</sup> This circumstance is worthy of remark as shewing the approaching fall of the Woodvilles.



Arms and supporters of Edward V. °

## EDWARD V.

EDWARD, the fourth child but eldest son of Edward IV., was born in the Sanctuary at Westminster, during his father's brief exile, Nov. 4, 1470. He was soon after created prince of Wales, and in 1479 also earl of Pembroke; in 1482 he was sent to keep a mimic court at Ludlow, in the marches, being under the guardianship of Anthony Woodville, earl Rivers, his maternal uncle, and attended by Sir Richard Grey, his half-brother, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and others of the Woodville party. The death of his father on the 9th of April, 1483, called him to the throne, but after a mere nominal possession of less than three months<sup>d</sup>, he and his brother, Richard,

° Used also in the latter part of the reign of Edward IV.

<sup>d</sup> According to a memorandum in the Red Book of the Exchequer, his reign "ceased" on June 22, the day that had been appointed for his coronation, and the same on which his uncle's claim was publicly brought forward; from that day to the 26th of June was an inter-regnum.

duke of York, both disappeared, and nothing is known as to their fate.

A.D. 1483. Edward is proclaimed king, April 9.

The queen-mother endeavours to obtain the regency, but is foiled by the union of the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, Lord Hastings\*, and others, who resolve to depress the Woodvilles.

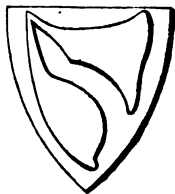
The young king, being sent for to London, is met at Stony Stratford by the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, April 30, when they seize Rivers, Grey, Vaughan, and Haute†, and send them prisoners to the north, and bring Edward to London, where he arrives May 4.

The queen-mother takes sanctuary at Westminster, with the duke of York and her daughters‡, May 1.

\* William, lord Hastings, was the son of Leonard Hastings, a favourite esquire of Richard, duke of York, who through the duke's influence obtained the shrievalty of Warwick and Leicester. William was equally favoured by Edward IV., received a large share of the Lancastrian forfeitures, was employed on embassies, held the posts of master of the mint, captain of Calais, constable of many other castles, and chamberlain. He was, however, on bad terms with the Woodvilles, although made by the queen guardian of her son Thomas, and hence he readily joined with Richard, duke of Gloucester, against them. From some cause which has never been clearly ascertained, Hastings was seized at the council board, by order of the Protector, and immediately beheaded in the Tower, June 13, 1483. He left, by his wife Katherine, the widow of Lord Bonville, and sister of the earl of Warwick, a son, Edward, who succeeded him, and became, in right of his wife, Lord Hungerford, and whose son was created by Henry VIII. earl of Huntingdon.

† Commonly, but wrongly, called Hawes.

‡ Her brother, Sir Richard Woodville, and her son, the marquis of Dorset, attempted to seize on the Tower, and to raise a fleet, but



Arms of Lord Hastings.

The duke of Gloucester is appointed by a great council of prelates, nobles, and chief citizens, protector of the king and kingdom<sup>h</sup>.

The duke of Buckingham is appointed chief justice, chamberlain, seneschal and receiver of Wales, and constable of "all the king's castles" there, May 16<sup>i</sup>.

The protector issues proclamations appointing June 22 for the coronation of the young king.

Lord Hastings is seized while at the council-board in the Tower, and beheaded, June 13<sup>j</sup>. The Woodville prisoners are executed at Pomfret shortly after.

The queen allows the duke of York to leave the Sanctuary and join his brother in the Tower.

Ralph Shaw<sup>k</sup>, a preacher, sets forth the Protector's

failed; they remained concealed until Buckingham's rebellion, in which they took part.

<sup>h</sup> The day is uncertain: the first public document now known in which he is styled Protector is dated May 14.

<sup>i</sup> These grants gave him power to appoint all the officers heretofore appointed by the crown, and to survey and array the population.

<sup>j</sup> The archbishop of York (Thomas Scott or Rotherham) and the bishop of Ely (John Morton) were also seized. The former was soon released. Morton was given shortly after into the custody of the duke of Buckingham, who was probably persuaded by him to take up arms. On Buckingham's death Morton made his escape and joined Richmond; a pardon was granted to him by Richard, Dec. 11, 1484, but he did not return until Richmond was established on the throne. He was made archbishop of Canterbury, in which post he died, Sept. 15, 1500.

<sup>k</sup> He was the brother of the lord mayor of London (Sir Edmund Shaw). Taking for his text a passage from the Book of Wisdom (iv. 3), "The multiplying brood of the ungodly shall not thrive, nor take deep rooting from bastard slips, nor lay any fast foundation," he dwelt on the alleged marriage of Edward IV. to Lady Butler, which if true rendered the young Edward, his brothers and sisters, illegitimate, but it is incredible that he also asserted that Edward and Clarence were base-born; the Protector surely would not thus defame his own mother, who beside favoured his claim; yet this is the statement of Sir Thomas More, who has given form and distinctness to the vague charges of earlier writers.

claim to the throne, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, Sunday, June 22.

The duke of Buckingham makes a speech to the like effect at the Guildhall, Tuesday, June 24<sup>1</sup>.

"The lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of the land," wait on the Protector at Baynard's Castle, Thursday, June 26, with a "bill of petition, wherein his sure and true title" to the throne "is evidently shewed."

He repairs to Westminster, where certain deputies, in the name of the nobles and people of the north, present a petition to the assembly, desiring that he may take the office and title of king: "the children of Edward IV. being illegitimate, those of the duke of Clarence attainted, and the blood of Richard, duke of York, remaining uncorrupt only in the person of Richard, the Protector, duke of Gloucester."

The petition is received, the Protector assumes the style of Richard the Third, and rides in state as king to St. Paul's, "and was received there with great congratulation and acclamation of all the people<sup>m</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas More asserts that on the following day the lord mayor and aldermen accompanied Buckingham to Baynard's Castle, and there tendered the crown to the Protector; the cotemporary writer Fabian, who usually dwells upon every incident in which the citizens of London are concerned, does not mention this, and it is therefore probably untrue.

<sup>m</sup> These are Richard's own statements, made to the garrison of Calais, who, having taken an oath to Edward V., required some formal document to justify the transfer of their allegiance.





Richard III., from his Great Seal.



Arms of Richard III.

## RICHARD III.

RICHARD, the youngest son of Richard, duke of York, was born at Fotheringhay in 1450<sup>a</sup>. In his eleventh year he was sent for safety to Flanders, on the occasion of the death of his father, but was speedily recalled by his brother Edward, to whose fortunes he seems to have closely attached himself, accompanying him in his exile in the year 1470, and receiving from him in return many important grants. Very early in his reign Richard had been created duke of Gloucester, and he subsequently became constable, justiciary of Wales, and warden of the west marches; he served under his banner at Barnet and at Tewkesbury, went with him to France, and commanded an army against

<sup>a</sup> "On the feast of the Eleven Thousand Virgins," (i.e. St. Ursula, October 21,) according to Rous.

Scotland, with which he captured both Berwick and Edinburgh.

When Edward IV. died the duke of Gloucester was in the north, but as he, like his late brother Clarence, had a long-standing quarrel with the Woodvilles, he marched southward, took his nephew out of their hands, and escorted him to London, sending the earl of Rivers, Sir Thomas Gray, Vaughan and Haute, his chief attendants, to Sheriff Hutton and other castles in Yorkshire. He was accompanied by a large body of troops who had served under him in the north, and was at once declared Protector of the kingdom, the queen-mother having in the mean time retired to the Sanctuary at Westminster, with her younger son and her five daughters.

So far Richard seems to have been supported by numerous parties whose only bond of union was dislike of the Woodvilles; these were now helpless, and the confederates quarrelled; but the true history of the months of May and June, 1483, has never yet been ascertained. We only know that Hastings, one of the chief opponents of the Woodvilles, was executed, apparently on the spur of the moment, in the Tower: that, shortly after, the earl of Rivers and his friends were put to death at Pomfret<sup>o</sup>, and that between these two events the young duke of York was withdrawn from the Sanctuary (whether by force or fraud is an open question), and joined his brother in the Tower; neither

<sup>o</sup> They were not executed on the same day, as is commonly stated. Hastings was put to death June 13, and Rivers made his will June 23; he is believed to have been beheaded June 25 or 26.

was publicly seen after, and nothing is known, though much has been plausibly conjectured, as to what became of them<sup>p</sup>.

Whilst these events were in progress Richard had brought forward a claim to the crown, (founded on a pre-contract of marriage of Edward IV. which rendered his union with "dame Elizabeth Gray" invalid, and the attainder of his brother Clarence,) which appeared satisfactory to the parliament; he was in consequence received as king, June 26, and was crowned with much pomp and a larger concourse than ordinary of the nobility<sup>q</sup>, July 6.

Richard made a progress through the country, and repeated the ceremony of his coronation at York, Sept. 8. This was hardly concluded when the duke of Buckingham, many of the old Lancastrians, and some of the Woodvilles combined against him, but were speedily crushed. The earl of Richmond, in concert with them, attempted an invasion, but his fleet was dispersed by bad weather; Richard visited the disturbed districts, and on his return took vigorous measures to guard the coast.

In the parliament which met early in 1484, several statutes were passed, mainly directed against abuses in

<sup>p</sup> The popular theory is, that the two children were murdered by Richard; another, that they were only imprisoned by him, and that their mother contrived the escape of one or both from the Tower, in the interval between Richard's death and the entry of Henry VII. into London; if true, this would account for Henry's harsh treatment of her and her son, the marquis of Dorset.

<sup>q</sup> Thirty-five peers attended it; his mother was present, and Margaret of Richmond (the mother of Henry VII.) bore the train of his queen.

the administration of justice, and some laws were enacted for the protection of traders and the extension of commerce. The same assembly declared the marriage of Edward IV. and his queen a nullity, and revoked all grants made to her, thus rendering her totally dependent on Richard, who induced her to leave the Sanctuary, by the promise of a suitable maintenance for herself and daughters; it also took an oath to support the right of Richard's son to the throne. This arrangement was foiled by the young prince's death soon after, and then Richard's nephew, John, earl of Lincoln, was recognised as his heir. The king, however, felt his throne perpetually endangered by the hostility of the Lancastrian exiles, and endeavoured, but without success, to get their chiefs into his power. He made a truce with Scotland, and knowing that a plan was on foot for a marriage between Henry, earl of Richmond, and Elizabeth of York, he laboured to thwart it by offering to marry her himself, a proposal to which both she and her mother seem to have agreed<sup>r</sup>. But before anything could be done, Richmond landed in Wales, and penetrated without opposition to the centre of England, with the secret concurrence of many who professed to adhere to Richard. One decisive battle took place at Bosworth, in Leicestershire, and there the king lost both his crown and his life<sup>s</sup>, on the 22nd of August, 1485. His body,

<sup>r</sup> A strong presumption arises from this that their nearest relatives did not believe Richard to be the murderer of his nephews.

<sup>s</sup> The duke of Norfolk, Lord Ferrers, Sir Robert Brakenbury, were killed; and his chancellor of the exchequer, Catesby, taken and beheaded. He is mentioned in a Lancastrian distich as one of Richard's principal councillors:—

“The Cat, the Rat, and Lovel, that dog,  
Rule all England under the Hog.”

which was found covered with wounds on the field, was carelessly thrown across a horse, and carried into Leicester, where it was interred in the Grey Friars monastery<sup>t</sup>.

Richard married, after much opposition from his brother Clarence, Anne, the second daughter of the earl of Warwick, and widow of Prince Edward. She died, after a lingering illness, March 16, 1485, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Their only child, Edward, born at Middleham, in Yorkshire, in 1473, was by Edward IV. created earl of Salisbury, and in the first year of Richard's reign, prince of Wales and earl of Chester, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland. He died April 9, 1484.

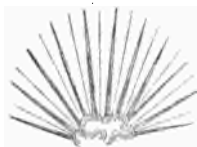
Richard had a natural daughter, Katherine, who married William Herbert, earl of Huntingdon, but is believed to have died shortly after. Two natural sons are also ascribed to him, and a tale has been told of one of them living in Kent to the time of Edward VI. (1550), and following for safety the craft of a bricklayer, but its truth is very doubtful.

The royal arms remained the same as in the time of Edward IV., but Richard adopted different supporters; sometimes a lion and a boar, sometimes two white boars. Beside the badges of his house, the sun in splendour,

The Rat is Sir Robert Ratcliff (evidently a devoted partisan; see Note B.) Lovel was particularly obnoxious, both on account of his rank, and as the son of a Lancastrian.

<sup>t</sup> A mean tomb was erected over his remains by Henry VII. at a cost, as appears from his Privy Purse Accounts, of £10. 1s. At the suppression of the monastery, this was destroyed, and Richard's stone coffin is said to have long after served as a horse-trough at an inn in the town.

and the white rose, which he bore sometimes separately, at others one within the other, he had a singular cognisance of a falcon with a virgin's face holding a white rose.



Badges of Richard III.

The character by which Richard III. is popularly known was drawn in the first instance by two or three obscure writers who lived in the time of his victorious opponent<sup>u</sup>; but their glaringly prejudiced statements<sup>v</sup> have been adopted, and so embellished and recommended by the talents of Sir Thomas More, Lord Bacon, and Shakspeare, that they have taken a place in history, and have caused him to be generally regarded rather as a monster than a man. The Public Statutes and Records of his reign, however, exhibit him in a very different light, and their unimpeachable testimony ought to decide the question. It may, too, be remarked, that the crimes laid to his charge are not supported by anything like conclusive evidence; while it is certain that his succession to the throne was agree-

<sup>u</sup> These are, the anonymous continuer of the Chronicle of Croyland; Thomas Rous, a priest of Warwick; and Robert Fabian, an alderman and city annalist.

<sup>v</sup> We give as a specimen a few lines from Rous, which contain the chief charges: "Gloucester obtained, or rather invented, the title of Protector. . . . He received his master, Edward, with kisses and fawning caresses, and in three months murdered him and his brother, poisoned his own wife, and, what was most detestable both to God and the English nation, slew the sanctified Henry VI."

able to the main body of the nation, which seems to have imitated the example of Saxon times<sup>w</sup>, in preferring the rule of a man skilled in arms and government to the dangers of a long minority. His enemies are obliged to confess that he swayed the sceptre with vigour and ability, and that wise and equitable laws were enacted by his parliament; they also allow him military skill and courage<sup>x</sup>; and it is now well understood that his fall was the consequence, not of hatred caused by his crimes among the ancient friends of his House, but of the arms of his and their hereditary foes rendered triumphant by treachery.

Brief and troubled as was the period of Richard's rule, several matters justly considered as of great importance at the present day date from it. The statutes of his parliament are the first that were drawn up in the English language, as they were also the first that were printed; the office of consul, so necessary to the interest of merchants and travellers abroad, was established by him<sup>y</sup>; and that great engine of modern convenience, the post-office, is based on a system of couriers established by him for the rapid transmission of intelligence during his campaigns in Scotland in 1481 and 1482.

The Public Statutes of his reign may perhaps not be considered as conclusive evidence of the real character

<sup>w</sup> Ethelred and Alfred the Great both became kings, to the prejudice of their nephews, owing to the disturbed state of the nation. See vol. i. pp. 87, 88.

<sup>x</sup> It is, however, done reluctantly: "If I may venture to speak anything to his honour," says Rous, "though he was a little man, he was a noble and valiant soldier."

<sup>y</sup> The English merchants abroad had before his time chosen one of their number governor, but Richard first made him an officer of the state. Laurentio Strozzi, of Florence, was in 1485 appointed consul and president of the English merchants in Italy by patent from the king.

of Richard; but numerous entries on his Patent Rolls indicate with certainty that he has been unjustly treated by historians in general. They prove him, like monarchs of very different reputation, to have granted numerous pardons to his opponents<sup>1</sup>, and to have been lenient in his treatment of their families<sup>2</sup>; lavish in his own grants<sup>3</sup>, and regardful of those of his predecessors<sup>4</sup>; vigilant in providing for the defence of his shores, and the improvement of his ports<sup>5</sup>; anxious to repress piracy<sup>6</sup>, and ready to compensate the sufferers<sup>7</sup>; desirous to encourage trade by affording protection to merchants and foreigners<sup>8</sup>, of which they must have been fully sensible, judging from the numerous denizations recorded; guarding the purchaser against frauds<sup>9</sup> in the wool manufacture, and also protecting the workman by directing his payment to be made in "ready lawful money"<sup>10</sup>. In his private character he appears grateful for services rendered to his House "in prosperity and adversity"<sup>11</sup>; mindful of old servants<sup>12</sup>, and willing to lessen his own revenue to benefit faithful towns<sup>13</sup>, or relieve distress<sup>14</sup>. He devoted deodands and forfeitures to charity<sup>15</sup>; liberated his bondmen<sup>16</sup>; founded a collegiate church, and several chantries<sup>17</sup>; bestowed alms on various religious bodies<sup>18</sup>; and was a benefactor to a college in each University<sup>19</sup>.

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A.D. 1483. Richard assumes the crown, June 26; he is crowned, with his queen, at Westminster, July 6.

✓ See Notes and Illustrations, where the documents on which the above assertions are based will be found cited, with corresponding numbers.

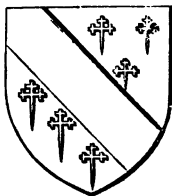


John Howard, lord Howard<sup>a</sup>, is appointed earl-marshal<sup>a</sup>, June 28.

Edward, prince of Wales, appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland for three years, July 19.

The duke of Buckingham receives the appointment of constable of England, and a confirmation and extension of his former grants<sup>b</sup>, July 15.

\* Sir John Howard was the grandson of Thomas Mowbray, the first duke of Norfolk, who was banished by Richard II., (see vol. i. p. 416). He held the office of sheriff of Norfolk, went to Gascony with Talbot, and was present at the battle of Castillon. He afterwards served principally at sea, at one time ravaged the coast of Brittany, and took the town of Conquet. He was much favoured by Edward IV., who made him treasurer of the household, employed him on embassies, and appointed him captain-general at sea in 1478. He became deputy of Calais, constable of the Tower, and afterwards was admiral of the fleet which accompanied the duke of Gloucester's invasion of Scotland in 1482. By Richard III. he was made earl-marshāl, and admiral for life, beside receiving most liberal grants in lands and money; he steadily adhered to him, and was killed in his quarrel at Bosworth-field, Aug. 22, 1485. His son, Thomas, who had been a squire of Edward IV., fought also at Bosworth; he suffered a long imprisonment in the Tower, but at length had the title of earl of Surrey, and a portion of his estates, restored to him by Henry VII. He was repeatedly employed against the Scots, and gained the victory of Flodden, by which he obtained an honourable augmentation to his arms; his sons also distinguished themselves both by sea and land; in consequence he had his dukedom and the earl-marshālship restored, was made lord treasurer and knight of the Garter. He died in 1524.



Arms of Howard, duke of Norfolk.



Ditto, with the augmentation.

\* His fee was to be £20 annually from the fee-farm of Ipswich. He was very shortly after created duke of Norfolk, and he had a grant of a great number of manors and lordships, including Farley Castle, July 25, on which day he was appointed admiral of England, Ireland, and Acquitaine.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 93.

The treason of the duke of Albany<sup>c</sup> being discovered, he flees into England, having first surrendered his castle of Dunbar to the English<sup>d</sup>.

Richard makes a progress through the country, visiting Oxford, Gloucester, Coventry, and arriving at York, is again crowned there with great pomp, Sept. 8.

Plots are formed against him, in which his former partisan, the duke of Buckingham, joins.

The malcontents take arms in various quarters<sup>e</sup>, on the same day, Oct. 18; Richard returns southward, issues a proclamation from Leicester, Oct. 23, offering a free pardon to the common people, and large sums for the apprehension of the leaders.

Buckingham, being prevented by a flood in the Severn from joining his confederates, seeks shelter with one of his dependants, but is betrayed by him, carried to Salisbury, and there beheaded, Nov. 1; the other malcontents disperse, some finding refuge in sanctuaries, others repairing to Brittany<sup>f</sup>.

The earl of Richmond attempts a landing in Dorsetshire, but his fleet being dispersed by a storm, he is obliged to retire to Normandy.

Richard proceeds through the west of England, punish-

<sup>c</sup> See p. 90.

<sup>d</sup> It was recovered by the Scots in the summer of 1485.

<sup>e</sup> Buckingham raised forces in Wales; the marquis of Dorset, the bishop of Exeter (Peter Courteney), and others, in Devonshire; Sir Richard Woodville, and his brother, the bishop of Salisbury, in Wiltshire; Sir John Fogge, Sir George Browne, in Kent; and Sir William Norris in Berkshire.

<sup>f</sup> The three bishops of Ely, Exeter, and Salisbury were among the latter number; the bishop of Salisbury (Lionel Woodville) died about a year after in exile, but the others survived Richard, and then returned to their sees.

ing some of the insurgents<sup>g</sup>, but pardoning the greater number, and returning to London at Christmas, is received with great rejoicings.

A.D. 1484. A parliament held at Westminster, Jan. 23, when several valuable statutes are enacted. 1. An act forbidding secret feoffments, [1 Rich. III. c. 1]; 2. forbidding benevolences<sup>h</sup>, (c. 2); 3. allowing bail in accusations of felony, and forbidding the seizure of persons' goods before conviction, (c. 4); 4. remedying the abuse of insufficient jurors, (c. 6); 5. regulating the conduct of aliens<sup>i</sup>, (c. 9); another act annulled all letters patent granted to "Elizabeth, late wife of Sir John Gray<sup>j</sup>," (c. 15).

The manufacture of cloth regulated by statute<sup>k</sup>, [1 Rich. III. c. 8].

The members of the two houses of parliament take an oath to support the succession of Richard's son Edward to the throne, Feb.

Both houses of convocation petition the king to re-

<sup>g</sup> One of the parties executed was Sir Thomas St. Leger, Richard's brother-in-law; he had married the divorced duchess of Exeter, but she was now dead.

<sup>h</sup> The statute states that the king, remembering how his subjects have, by new and unlawful inventions and inordinate covetousness, been obliged to pay great sums of money, to their almost utter destruction, ordains, with the consent of parliament, that the exactions called benevolences shall be annulled for ever.

<sup>i</sup> Importers of books or printers, of any nation or country, are specially excepted from the restraints of this act [1 Rich. III. c. 9], which is an important testimony to the value already attached to the then newly invented art of printing. The king is believed to have been himself a man of literary tastes, and in his reign the Statutes were first printed.

<sup>j</sup> The use of this term for the widow of the late king, seems to indicate that Richard's parliament were satisfied that their marriage was null and void, in which case Richard would not be a usurper.

<sup>k</sup> Some of the enactments appearing injudicious, the penalties were remitted by the king's proclamation, Oct. 25, 1484.

lieve them from the jurisdiction of the secular courts. He complies by a charter dated Feb. 23<sup>k</sup>.

The queen-mother is deprived of her estates by the parliament; Richard induces her to leave the Sanctuary at Westminster, taking an oath to provide for her and her daughters, March 1.

The heralds and pursuivants of arms incorporated by charter<sup>l</sup>, March 2.

Richard's son dies, April 9, and his queen March 16, 1485.

Richard declares his nephew, John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, his heir<sup>m</sup>.

The earl of Richmond, apprehensive of being delivered up by the duke of Brittany, seeks shelter in France, where he is allowed to raise forces.

A three years' truce concluded with Scotland, Sept. 21, and a marriage arranged between Prince James and Anne de la Pole, Richard's niece.

The duke of Albany invades Scotland with a body of English borderers; he is defeated at Lochmaben, June 22, and flees to France<sup>n</sup>.

The earl of Oxford escapes from Hammes, and joins Richmond<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> This was in imitation of what his brother Edward had done in the early part of his reign.

<sup>l</sup> The grant is made to Garter (John Writhe), Clarence, Norroy, and Gloucester, kings of arms; it confers on the college the house called Cold Arber, in the parish of Allhallows the Less, London, and permits the purchase of lands to the value of £20 yearly for the support of a chaplain to say mass in the house daily.

<sup>m</sup> He also received the appointment of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, which the deceased prince had held, Aug. 21.

<sup>n</sup> He was shortly after killed there at a tournament.

<sup>o</sup> Some of the garrison accompanied him; Thomas Brandon and seventy-three other soldiers, and Elizabeth, wife of James Blount, supposed to have allowed their escape, received a pardon, Jan. 27, 1485.

A.D. 1485. Richard raises money by way of "benevolence," which greatly impairs his popularity.

He proposes to marry the princess Elizabeth, which is agreed to by the queen-mother.

The earl of Richmond, alarmed at this news<sup>p</sup>, hastens his preparations.

A fleet fitted out in April, under Sir George Neville<sup>q</sup>, to intercept the Lancastrians.

Richmond sails from Harfleur, Aug. 1, and lands at Milford Haven, Aug. 7.

Richard repairs to Nottingham, as a central station, where he orders his friends to join him.

Richmond advances through Wales into Staffordshire, is joined by Sir George Talbot and others, and comes to an understanding with Lord Stanley<sup>r</sup>.

The castle of Dunbar recovered by the Scots.

Richard, on the news of Richmond's approach, repairs to Leicester. He leaves it, Aug. 21, and encamps near Bosworth.

The battle of Bosworth, Aug. 22, in which Richard, betrayed by Lord Stanley and the earl of Northumberland<sup>s</sup>, is defeated and killed. His body is brought into Leicester, and buried in the Grey Friars monastery, Aug. 25.

<sup>p</sup> It had been for some time understood that he was to marry the princess himself; which he afterwards did.

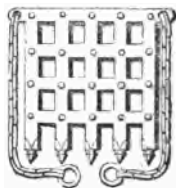
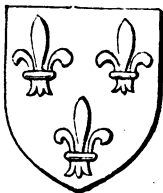
<sup>q</sup> Neville received large grants "for services against the rebels," June 30 and July 1. On the triumph of the Lancastrians, he went abroad.

<sup>r</sup> Stanley held the office of constable, and with his son, Lord Strange, had obtained valuable grants for "services against the rebels."

<sup>s</sup> He was warden of the marches and lord chamberlain, and, like Stanley, had received a share of the forfeited estates.

## THE TUDORS.

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Badges of the Tudors.



**W**HEN Henry of Richmond had succeeded in possessing himself of the English crown, he found no difficulty in procuring from Wales a duly authenticated pedigree, in which his descent from Carac-tacus and consequent right to the British sceptre was clearly shewn<sup>a</sup>. English writers, however, are content to discover the first noted person of his family in a Welsh squire, named Owen Tudor (Tedder, or Theodore), whose handsome person procured him the alliance of Katherine of France, the relict of Henry V. ; he lost his life in the Lancastrian cause, but his grandson became a king.

The Tudors ruled for nearly one hundred and twenty years (A.D. 1485—1603); changes of the most important nature were effected in their time, and mainly by the sovereigns themselves. Henry VII. gave its death-blow to the feudal system, and began to rear

<sup>a</sup> The pedigree will be found *in extenso* in Powell's "History of Wales."

something like our present state of society in its stead<sup>b</sup>; the iron hand of Henry VIII. broke up monastic establishments, and by destroying the dependence of the Church of England on that of Rome, gave opportunity for the purification of the former from stains contracted by its long connexion with a Church "which hath erred, not only in living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith." These reformatory measures were carried on by the advisers of his son; and, though somewhat retarded by his daughter Mary, received their full and happy accomplishment from the hands of the last of her race, the famous Queen Elizabeth.

Though fierce political and religious dissensions disturbed the Tudor era, the nation made great advances in commerce and navigation; voyages to India were undertaken, and vigorous efforts made to share the riches of the New World. The mode of government, however, if less openly tyrannical, was more systematically oppressive than heretofore<sup>c</sup>; but the patronage shewn, especially under Elizabeth, to literature, has enriched the period with names which can never die.

The badges of the Tudors are less various than those

<sup>b</sup> The nobility had been greatly reduced in number by the civil war, and most of those who survived were in a state of poverty; Henry VII., professedly to relieve them, allowed them to dispose of their lands, free from the burdens of feudalism; much of the soil of the country thus came into the possession of merchants and traders, and a middle class sprang up, into whose hands the real power of the State has been gradually drawn; a change the importance of which it is impossible to over-estimate.

<sup>c</sup> The Tudors were such absolute rulers, and their parliaments and their judges so subservient, that new laws were made and old ones interpreted without regard to anything except meeting the wishes of the sovereign. Hence the forms of law were strictly observed in innumerable cases where every principle of justice was disregarded.

of their predecessors. Those of the house consist of the red and the white rose united in various ways ; the portcullis, the badge of the Beauforts ; and the fleur-de-lis, for their nominal realm of France : the white greyhound, the sun in splendour, and the thornless rose belong to individual rulers.





Henry VII.



Elizabeth of York.

From their Monument, Westminster Abbey,

## HENRY VII.

MARGARET, daughter of John Beaufort, duke of Somerset, was born in the year 1441, and on the death of her father became the ward of William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, who endeavoured to unite her to his son John, (afterwards the husband of Elizabeth of York, sister of Edward IV.); but in 1455 she married Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond, (son of Owen Tudor and Katherine of France,) who died in the following year, leaving her and her infant son Henry to the care of his brother Jasper, earl of Pembroke<sup>d</sup>.

This, her only child, was born, probably in the castle of Pembroke, in the year 1456, and as early as his fifth

<sup>d</sup> The countess in 1459 married Sir Henry Stafford, a younger son of the duke of Buckingham, who died in 1481. In 1482 she married her third husband, Thomas, Lord Stanley, and survived until 1509. Though naturally an object of suspicion to the Yorkist princes, on account of her son, she was able to save herself from any serious consequences; her wealth was great, and she has left in each University numerous evidences of her pious charity.

year he experienced the calamities of the time, being attainted by the first parliament of Edward IV., apparently in revenge for the active part which his uncle Jasper had taken on the Lancastrian side. Jasper was a fugitive, and his castle and earldom were granted to William Herbert, who coming to take possession found there Margaret and her son, and, though in effect their keeper, treated them with kindness, and provided for the education of the child. Jasper made some unsuccessful attempts to recover his stronghold, and Herbert was captured and executed by insurgents; but it was not until 1470, upon the temporary restoration of Henry VI., that the young earl was set at liberty, presented to his royal kinsman, and sent to Eton College. His stay there was but short; Edward IV. returned, and Richmond and his uncle escaping by sea, were driven on the coast of Brittany, where they long remained in a position between guests and prisoners. As Henry grew to manhood he attracted the more particular attention of both friends and enemies. His personal character for ability and courage caused him to be recognised, without a shadow of hereditary claim, as the head of the Lancastrian exiles, and both Edward IV. and Richard III. endeavoured, by bribes to Landois, the minister of the duke of Brittany, to get him into their hands. He succeeded in foiling their schemes, and at length withdrew into France, where he was joined by the earl of Oxford (who had escaped from his prison at Hammes), Morton, bishop of Ely, and several of the Woodville party. His first attempt to invade England (in October, 1483) was unsuccessful, but he renewed it in 1485, and by the one

decisive victory of Bosworth (Aug. 22) established himself on the throne<sup>c</sup>.

As this event was soon followed by his marriage with Elizabeth of York, Henry's accession is ordinarily spoken of as the result of the support of the Yorkists, and a compromise of the claims of the two houses; but such was not his own view of it<sup>f</sup>. Before the marriage he procured the settlement of the crown on himself and his heirs only; and in his will he speaks of "the crown which it pleased God to give us, with the victory of our enemy in our first field."

Henry had been bred in adversity, but he had not learnt mercy. He entertained a deep hatred of the House of York, and laboured, but too successfully, to depress all its members and adherents. Insurrections were the consequence; he succeeded in suppressing them all, and, though not wanting in courage, was indebted far less to arms than to policy for the tranquillity which attended his later years. He more than once declared war against France and against Scotland, but never proceeded to hostilities, and is indeed generally suspected of fomenting the misunderstandings which arose as pretexts for subsidies, which he applied to his own purposes. The acquisition of treasure seems to have been his ruling passion, and he found ready instruments in two lawyers (Richard Empson and Edmund

\* He, as well as many of his adherents, had been long under attainder; the judges, however, prudently declared that his success purged that defect in him, and the parliament which shortly after assembled relieved the rest from their disabilities.

<sup>f</sup> He held language to his first parliament, which implies that his victory was his real title to the crown; but he chose to put that victory as God's testimony to "his just hereditary title."

Dudley<sup>g</sup>) who so dexterously perverted existing laws or revived obsolete ones, for the purposes of extortion, that the most innocent were obliged to pay enormous fines for imaginary offences to avoid utter ruin. Having lost his queen and eldest son, Henry engaged in various schemes for a new marriage, but the negotiations were delayed by his wish to obtain a rich portion; in the midst of his projects he was surprised by illness, when he turned his thoughts to works of piety and charity, founded monasteries and released debtors, and at length died at Richmond, April 21, 1509, and was buried in the sumptuous chapel at Westminster which bears his name<sup>h</sup>, May 10.

By his wife, Elizabeth of York, (who was born in 1465 or 1466, and died Feb. 11, 1503,) he had three sons and four daughters:—

1. Arthur, born at Winchester, Sept. 20, 1486, married Katherine of Arragon, Nov. 14, 1501, and dying April 2, 1502, was buried in Worcester Cathedral, April 27.

2. HENRY, became king.

- 3, 4, 5. Edmund, Elizabeth, and Katherine, died young.

6. Margaret, born Nov. 29, 1489, was married successively to James IV. of Scotland; to Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus; and to Henry Stuart, Lord Methven.

<sup>g</sup> Empson was the son of a sieve-maker, but Dudley was a gentleman, of the family of Lord Dudley of Sutton. He had a grant of the wardship of Elizabeth, daughter of Grey, Lord Lisle, and married her, whence his son in after years obtained the titles of Lord Lisle and earl of Warwick.

<sup>h</sup> His tomb was commenced at Windsor in 1501 or earlier, but it was removed to Westminster in 1503.

She was the grandmother of both Mary, queen of Scots, and her husband Darnley, and after a life of considerable vicissitude, died at Methven, near Perth, in 1541.

7. Mary, born in 1498, married first Louis XII. of France, and afterwards Charles Brandon, created duke of Suffolk; Lady Jane Grey was her grand-daughter by this latter marriage. She died June 25, 1533.

The royal arms and motto remained unchanged, but for supporters Henry VII. employed a red dragon and a white greyhound, sometimes the former being the dexter supporter, and sometimes the latter<sup>1</sup>. For badges he used the hawthorn bush royally crowned<sup>j</sup>, and the white greyhound courant; he also employed the red dragon and the dun cow as badges, as he claimed descent from Cadwallader and Guy of Warwick.



Arms and Badge of Henry VII.

Henry's conduct throughout his reign was unworthy of the station to which his enterprise and abilities had

<sup>1</sup> In one instance (the Bishop's palace, Exeter) the supporters are both greyhounds.

<sup>j</sup> In commemoration, it is said, of King Richard's crown having been found in a bush on the field of battle.

raised him. No consideration of justice or mercy prevailed in his dealings with the adherents of the House of York<sup>j</sup>; he devoted his whole soul to the acquisition, even by the vilest means, of treasure, which he guarded with all the jealousy of a miser under his own lock and key, though he lavishly disbursed it for the preparation of a pompous burial-place<sup>k</sup>; he sacrificed those who in early life had rendered him the most important services; he had no friends, no confidants, but was his own minister, and all his transactions with foreign powers betray his dark, designing, treacherous and ungrateful character.

A.D. 1485. Henry, earl of Richmond, is proclaimed king by his partisans on the field of battle, Aug. 22<sup>l</sup>.

He enters London, August 27, and is crowned October 30.

<sup>j</sup> His treatment of the sisters of his wife seems a proof of his settled purpose to depress their house, as they were all married much beneath their rank. Some modern writers have asserted that he shewed kindness and liberality to his queen, but the following among other entries in his Privy Purse Accounts are opposed to such a view:—

“1497, Feb. 1. Delivered to the queen’s grace to pay her debts, *which is to be repaid*, £2,000.

“1502, April 29. To the queen’s grace *in loan upon certain plate*, £500.”

From another entry after her death (dated May 2, 1503), it would seem that the queen also obtained money from other parties, as a sum is noted as paid to redeem her pledges.

<sup>k</sup> He also expended a portion on the restoration of the palaces at Richmond and Greenwich, and he founded a few Franciscan convents; yet these disbursements very little affected his hoard, and he died the richest prince in Christendom.

<sup>l</sup> His regnal years are ordinarily computed from this day, but some of the statutes of his first parliament (those of attainder and resumption,) date his reign from August 21, the day before the battle.

The young earl of Warwick<sup>m</sup> is brought from Yorkshire, and confined in the Tower.

A parliament meets Nov. 7; the crown is settled on Henry and his heirs, "and none other," [1 Hen. VII. c. 1,]<sup>n</sup> the attainders of the Lancastrians are reversed, and the duke of Norfolk, Lord Lovel, and other partisans of Richard III. attainted.

Wines from Gascony forbidden to be imported except in English, Irish, or Welsh vessels, [1 Hen. VII. c. 8<sup>o</sup>].

A general pardon granted of all offences committed by Henry's adherents against those of Richard, [c. 6].

Beside these proceedings in parliament, Henry took several steps on his own sole authority. He revoked all crown grants made since the 34th of Henry VI. (1454-5), which placed the possessions of the Yorkists especially at his mercy; and having procured the attainder of the richest of Richard's friends, he granted a pardon to the rest. Many of them, however, distrusted him, and either remained in sanctuary or quitted England.

A.D. 1486. Henry marries Elizabeth of York, Jan. 18; she is not crowned until near the end of the next year.

<sup>m</sup> The son of the duke of Clarence, since whose death (in 1478) he had been kept in a kind of honourable custody at the castle of Sheriff Hutton.

<sup>n</sup> The statute against Edward's queen was also repealed, but it does not appear that her dower lands were restored.

<sup>o</sup> In 1489 another statute was enacted [4 Hen. VII. c. 10], which prohibited the bringing of wine and woad in alien ships, or the employment of such ships by native merchants while native ships were to be had, thus establishing the principle of the Navigation Acts, so long regarded as the mainstay of British commerce, but now abrogated.

Lord Lovel and Humphrey and Thomas Stafford<sup>p</sup> rise in arms, but are soon forsaken by their followers. Lovel escapes to Flanders, Humphrey Stafford is executed, and Thomas pardoned.

Though this rising was easily crushed, Henry's rule was still insecure; this was especially the case in Ireland, where the House of York had been long exceedingly popular, and where all the chief officers were still its devoted partisans. The Butlers, who had taken the Lancastrian side in the former contests, had been driven out, and ever since the accession of Edward IV. the earls of Kildare had been the real rulers of the country. Gerald Fitzgerald, the ninth earl, had procured the passing of a statute in 1484, which confirmed himself in the deputyship for life, and made the like provision as to other great offices, which were all held by his brethren or kinsmen. Henry did not venture to repeal this act, but allowed Gerald to remain as deputy, when he gave the lieutenantship to his own uncle, Jasper, earl of Pembroke and duke of Bedford. This circumstance induced the Yorkists to make a desperate effort at the conquest of England, well known as the rising of Lambert Simnel, whose ready reception by Kildare and the Irish council can only be accounted for by supposing them to have been privy to the scheme from the beginning. It failed, but the power of the Fitzgeralds was little affected thereby, and the Earl of Kildare died possessed of the office of lord

<sup>p</sup> The Staffords were cousins of the duke of Buckingham. Lovel<sup>1</sup> was the son of an attainted Lancastrian, but had attached himself to the duke of Gloucester; he served with him in Scotland, and when his patron became king, received many valuable grants and high offices. See p. 98, note.



deputy, which was also held by his son, Gerald, whose tragic story belongs to the next reign.

The court of Starchamber established, [3 Hen VII. c. 1<sup>q</sup>].

Taking away of women against their will declared felony, [c. 2].

A three years' truce concluded with Scotland, July 3.

A.D. 1487. Lambert Simnel<sup>r</sup> personates Edward, earl of Warwick; is favourably received in Ireland, and crowned there as Edward VI., May 2.

Henry sends the queen-mother to the nunnery of Bermondsey, and her son Thomas, marquis of Dorset, to the Tower, and exhibits the earl of Warwick to the public.

Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, furnishes the earl of Lincoln and Lord Lovel with troops to support Simnel.

Simnel and his forces land in Lancashire, June 4; Henry advances against them, defeats them at Stoke,

\* The establishment of this court was a violation of Magna Charta (see vol. i. p. 289), but Henry only reduced to a system what former kings had done irregularly and occasionally; the king's council having from time immemorial dealt with both civil and criminal causes, unlettered by the rules of law. The court was to be composed of the lord chancellor, the lord treasurer, the keeper of the privy seal, a bishop, a lord of the council, and the two chief justices; their power embraced the punishment of "murders, robberies, perjuries and unsureties of all men living," in as full manner as if the offenders had been "convict after the due order of the law."

<sup>r</sup> He was a handsome, intelligent youth of about twelve years of age, and had been tutored for his part by Richard Simon, a young priest of Oxford, who accompanied him to Ireland. The earl of Lincoln, (John de la Pole, nephew of Richard III) in whose favour the plan is supposed to have been devised, left Henry's court, where he had hitherto resided, and went to Flanders; his aunt, the duchess of Burgundy, furnished him with men, which he soon after led into Ireland to Simnel.

near Newark, June 16 ; the earl of Lincoln, and most of their leaders, are killed, Simnel and his tutor, Richard Simon, a priest, are taken<sup>s</sup> ; vast sums are raised by exactions from persons supposed to have favoured the rising<sup>t</sup>.

Henry receives a subsidy for a war against France, in behalf of the duke of Brittany<sup>u</sup>.

Henry proposes intermarriages of their families to the king of Scotland, who insists first on the restoration of Berwick.

The queen crowned, Nov. 25 ; her half-brother, the marquis of Dorset, is shortly after set at liberty, but her mother is still imprisoned<sup>v</sup>.

A.D. 1488. The people in the north resist the payment of the subsidy, and kill the earl of Northumberland<sup>w</sup>, who endeavours to enforce it. Sir John Egre-

<sup>s</sup> Simon was imprisoned for the rest of his life ; Simnel was made a scullion, and afterwards a falconer, in Henry's household ; Lord Bacon assigns a motive of superstition for Henry's apparent clemency. Lord Lovel is believed to have escaped from the field, and to have lived for a while in concealment at Minster Lovel, Oxfordshire, but at length to have been starved to death through the neglect or treachery of an attendant.

<sup>t</sup> Robert Stillington, bishop of Bath and Wells, was imprisoned until his death (May, 1491) on this charge. He had been chancellor in the time of Edward IV., and was personally obnoxious to Henry, as he had been employed in endeavours to induce the duke of Brittany to give up the Lancastrian refugees ; he was also understood to have celebrated Edward's marriage with Lady Eleanor Butler. Henry prevented any examination of this matter in his first parliament, by declaring that he pardoned the false statement that the bishop had made.

<sup>u</sup> Francis II., to whom he was indebted for his life ; yet he abandoned him to the French king, and ruined his daughter Anne by the expense of bodies of troops who were sent into her states, but not allowed to fight for her.

<sup>v</sup> She died in the nunnery at Bermondsey, June 8, 1492, and was buried at Windsor.

<sup>w</sup> Henry Percy, who deserted Richard III. at Bosworth.

mont heads them, but they are dispersed by the earl of Surrey<sup>x</sup>.

The earl of Angus and other partisans of the duke of Albany<sup>y</sup> conspire against James III. and get his eldest son into their hands; a pacification is concluded at Blackness, Fifeshire, in May.

The king endeavours to gain the castle of Stirling, when he is attacked by the insurgents, near Bannockburn, and defeated, June 11; he is slain in his flight, and is succeeded by his son (James IV.).

Henry makes a truce with France, and keeps the subsidy which had been voted for the war<sup>z</sup>.

A.D. 1489. Henry sends troops to Brittany, but by secret agreement with the French, they remain inactive.

The earl of Lennox and Lord Forbes attempt to avenge the death of James III.. but are surprised and defeated.

Butchers forbidden to slaughter cattle within the walls of any city, [4 Hen. VII. c. 3].

The benefit of clergy restrained [c. 13<sup>a</sup>].

The conservancy of the Thames from Staines to Yenlade assured to the city of London, [c. 15].

<sup>x</sup> Thomas Howard, the son of John, duke of Norfolk, killed at Bosworth, and himself but lately released from the Tower. Egremont escaped to Flanders, but John Chambres, his lieutenant, and many more, were taken and hanged.

<sup>y</sup> See pp. 87, 89.

<sup>z</sup> The duke of Brittany, however, made a desperate effort to drive out the French, but was defeated at St. Aubin, July 28, where Lord Rivers (uncle to the queen) and some English auxiliaries which he had raised were slain.

<sup>a</sup> It was only to be pleaded once by those who were not in orders; and murderers and felons were to be branded on the left thumb in open court.

A.D. 1490. Henry makes treaties with various states, professedly for the defence of Brittany.

A.D. 1491. Lord Bothwell (John Ramsay) and Sir Thomas Todd propose to seize the king of Scotland and his brother, and deliver them to Henry; but are unable to effect their purpose<sup>a</sup>.

Soldiers deserting declared felons without benefit of clergy [7 Hen. VII. c. 1].

True standard weights and measures of brass ordered to be sent by the king's treasurer to every city and borough, [c. 3].

All Scots not naturalized ordered to quit the realm, within forty days<sup>b</sup> [c. 6].

The attainder of Thomas, earl of Surrey, reversed<sup>c</sup> [c. 16].

Sir Robert Chamberleyn, John Hayes, and Richard White attainted by parliament, without trial, on charges of treasonable correspondence with the king of France, [cc. 22, 23].

A five years' truce concluded with Scotland, Dec. 26.

A.D. 1492. Henry raises money by way of "benevolence," and receives also supplies from the parliament.

A young man lands in Ireland, calling himself

<sup>a</sup> They had been greatly favoured by the late king, but were now exiles in England; the title of earl of Bothwell was bestowed on Patrick Hepburn.

<sup>b</sup> They were to be sought for by the constables and passed from hundred to hundred to Scotland, "in like manner as abjured men are conveyed from sanctuary to the port of embarkation."

<sup>c</sup> He had restoration of a portion only of his estates, those received from Richard III. being expressly excluded.

Richard<sup>d</sup>, duke of York, son of Edward IV. He is joined by John Water, the late mayor of Cork, and some others, and is shortly after invited to France by Charles VIII., where Sir George Neville and many English gentlemen repair to him.

Henry passes over to France, Oct. 2; besieges Boulogne for a few days; negotiates for a peace, and concludes a treaty<sup>e</sup>, and returns to England by the middle of November.

A.D. 1493. Henry meanwhile publishes an account of the death of Richard, duke of York, and his brother Edward V. in the Tower, but dismisses the alleged murderers without punishment<sup>f</sup>. He also professes to discover that his rival is an impostor, and makes treaties with the kings of France and Scotland, by which they agree not to give shelter or assistance to any of his enemies.

Richard is in consequence obliged to retire from France; he repairs to Flanders, where Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, receives him with joy.

A.D. 1494. The Yorkists in England send over to Flanders, and from the reports they receive, are satisfied that Richard is not an impostor<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> Historians in general style him Perkin Warbeck, but this name assumes what has never yet been proved, namely, that he was an impostor. The name Richard only is here employed, which does not prejudge the question, as either Perkin Warbeck or Richard of York would do. See Notes and Illustrations.

<sup>e</sup> Beside the public treaty, which provided for peace and strict alliance, there was a private agreement for payment of the annuity promised to Edward IV. See p. 87.

<sup>f</sup> Their names were Dighton and Forrest. Several years after it was alleged that they had been employed by Sir James Tyrell.

<sup>g</sup> Their agent was Sir Robert Clifford, son of the Lord Clifford who killed the young earl of Rutland at Wakefield. If not from the first

Lord Fitzwalter (John Ratcliff), Sir Simon Montfort, and several others, are seized, condemned, and executed <sup>h</sup>.

The truce with Scotland extended to April 30, 1501.

Sir Edward Poynings is appointed deputy of Ireland, Sept. 13. He passes a well-known statute, called Poynings' Law, by which all legislation in the Irish parliament is confined to matters first approved of by the king and council in England.

A.D. 1495. Clifford returns to England in January ; he charges Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, with treason <sup>i</sup>, who is condemned, and executed, Feb. 16.

Richard collects troops for an invasion of England ; a party which lands on Deal beach, July 3, is cut off by the people of Sandwich <sup>j</sup>, and he returns to Flanders.

Ships fitted out, and men raised to guard against other attempts, July.

A.D. 1496. Henry concludes a commercial treaty with Philip, duke of Burgundy, Feb. 24 <sup>k</sup>, which also provides

an emissary of Henry, which seems probable, he soon became so, and betrayed to him the names of those with whom he had corresponded. He appears, from the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VII., to have received a reward of £500, Jan. 20, 1495.

<sup>h</sup> Many pardons were, however, granted to Richard's adherents in Ireland, as to Walter Fitz Symonds, archbishop of Dublin, Aug. 8, 1494 ; to Maurice, earl of Desmond, Dec. 12, 1494 ; and a general pardon (from which Lord Barry and John Water, late mayor of Cork, were excepted) Aug. 26, 1496.

<sup>i</sup> He had been justice of North Wales under Richard III., and was the brother of Lord Stanley, who had married Henry's mother ; the charge against him was, that he had said, that if he were sure that young man were King Edward's son, he would not bear arms against him ; a declaration obnoxious to Henry, but very little like treason as usually understood.

<sup>j</sup> Many fell in the fight, and all the prisoners (169 in number) being brought to London, "railed in ropes like horses drawing in a cart," says Hall, were hanged by Henry's order.

<sup>k</sup> The duke's ambassadors received gifts, or perhaps bribes, of from £20 to £60 each, as appears by the Privy Purse Expenses.

for Richard's expulsion from Flanders. He repairs to Ireland, but meeting with few partisans, goes to Scotland, where James IV. receives him as King Richard IV.<sup>1</sup>

Jesus College, Cambridge, founded by John Alcock, bishop of Ely<sup>m</sup>.

James and Richard advance into England with a large army in October. Few join them, when the Scots ravage the country, and return by the end of the year.

A.D. 1497. The parliament meets at Westminster, Jan. 16, when a subsidy is granted for a war with Scotland. The people of Cornwall resist the collection of the tax, and march towards London; they are defeated at Blackheath, June 22, and their leaders executed<sup>n</sup>.

Tynedale annexed to Northumberland, [11 Hen. VII. c. 9,] the reason given being that the inhabitants abused their franchises, and, in company with the Scots, "the ancient enemy of the realm," daily and nightly committed great and heinous treasons, robberies and murders.

<sup>1</sup> James afforded a strong proof of his belief in Richard's kingly character by giving him in marriage a kinswoman of his own, the Lady Katherine Gordon. After Richard's defeat she was kept awhile in Henry's court, and at length married a Welsh knight, Sir Matthew Cradock, who raised a stately tomb, still existing, for her and himself, in the church of St. Mary, at Swansea. She, however, survived the knight, married a third, and a fourth husband, and by this last, Christopher Ashton, of Fyfield, Berkshire, was buried in the church of that parish, in October or November, 1537; her handsome tomb still remains there.

<sup>m</sup> It had been formerly the nunnery of St. Radegund, founded by Malcolm IV. of Scotland.

<sup>n</sup> These were Thomas, lord Audley, a man of broken fortune, Michael Joseph, a blacksmith, and Thomas Flammock, a lawyer who had assured them that the barons of the north were bound by the tenure of their estates to defend the realm against the Scots at their sole expense. Audley was beheaded on Tower-hill in October in a coat of his own arms reversed and torn; the others were hanged at Tyburn.

Benevolences unpaid made recoverable by imprisonment, [c. 10].

Suing *in forma pauperis* admitted<sup>o</sup>, [c. 11].

Taking game, or eggs of hawks or swans, on the estate of another, (said to be much practised by "persons having little substance to live upon,") made punishable by fine and imprisonment, [c. 17].

The wages of labourers and artificers regulated<sup>p</sup>, [c. 22].

Jurors giving untrue verdicts to be fined at the discretion of the judges, and rendered infamous, "so that they shall never after be of any credence, nor their oath accepted in any court," [c. 24].

Henry declared entitled to all the property of Richard III. [c. 28], and "improvident grants" of Edward III. and Richard II. to Edmund of Langley resumed, [c. 29].

Edmund de la Pole, on the payment of £5,000, has a portion of the estates of his father, John, duke of Suffolk, restored, and receives the title of earl of Suffolk, [c. 38].

The royal household regulated, [c. 62]; the expense was fixed at £12,059 9s. 11d.

The heirs of several attainted persons restored in blood; among them those of Catesby and Ratcliff.

James and Richard again invade England; they besiege Norham, but retire on the approach of the earl of Surrey.

<sup>o</sup> The statute directs that writs shall be granted by the chancellor and counsel be assigned by the judges without fee or award to persons not of ability to bear the expenses of the law, in order that all persons may have justice administered to them.

<sup>p</sup> This statute was soon repealed, [12 Hen. VII. c. 3].



Henry negotiates with James, and Richard is desired to quit Scotland; he accordingly repairs to Ireland, landing at Cork July 30.

A truce for seven years concluded with Scotland, Sept. 29.

Richard is invited from Ireland by the people of Devon and Cornwall. He accordingly lands at Whitsand (near Penzance), Sept. 7; is joined by a large body of partisans, and seizes St. Michael's Mount, where he leaves his wife, and marches on Exeter.

He besieges Exeter in vain for a few days, and then pushes forward into Somersetshire.

Lord Daubeney marches against him with a large force; hearing that Henry is also approaching, he quits his partisans near Taunton, and takes sanctuary at Beaulieu, Sept. 21.

The monastery is surrounded; Richard surrenders on a promise of life; is brought to Henry at Taunton, Oct. 5, and then sent prisoner to London.

Richard does not seem to have been treated as an impostor; on the contrary, he was manifestly used as a prisoner of rank. Numerous entries regarding him appear in Henry's Privy Purse Accounts; several sums of money are paid for him; he was, for a time at least, allowed a horse, and a riding-gown was bought for him (May, 1498); and the bill of "Jasper, Perkin's tailor," was discharged from the same fund in February, 1499.

A.D. 1498. Richard escapes from his keepers, June 9, and flees towards the sea-coast; he is traced, and takes sanctuary at Sheen (now Richmond); he is induced to leave the monastery on a promise of life, and

is then sent to the Tower, under the charge of Sir Simon Digby<sup>1</sup>.

A.D. 1499. Richard and the earl of Warwick are tried and executed on a charge of high treason.

No record of the trial of Richard (who was hanged and quartered at Tyburn, Nov. 23<sup>r</sup>.) is known to exist, but we learn the charges against both from the indictment preferred against the earl of Warwick, in the court of the Lord High Steward (John, earl of Oxford,) and Peers, Nov. 21, and to which he is recorded to have pleaded guilty.

This document states that Thomas Astwode and Robert Cleymound had, early in the month of August, conspired with the earl, to make him king. Cleymound is the chief actor; he gives the earl a hanger to defend himself, and receives in return a cloak and a jacket of velvet, and also an image of wood, (which in one place the earl is said to have made, in another to have received from one Walter Bluet<sup>2</sup>.) which was to induce one Thomas Ward, a priest, "to be more well affected to them," although Cleymound had already consulted Ward as to their schemes, and taken his advice as to what sanctuary he should choose in case of their failure.

<sup>1</sup> Hall and Grafton state that he was also placed in the stocks, and read a confession of his imposture, but the fact is doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> John Water, late mayor of Cork, long one of his partisans, was executed with him.

<sup>3</sup> Astwode and Bluet were two of the earl's keepers; they were shortly after hanged at Tyburn. Who Cleymound was, or what became of him, does not appear; he seems to have been in the confidence of the governor, as he is represented as going freely from one prisoner to another; and as the indictment states that these matters were made known while in progress to the king, it is probable that he was a spy, a vile class largely employed by Henry, as is evident from his Privy Purse Accounts.

Various modes of carrying their purpose into effect are attributed to the conspirators. It is first said that they proposed to seize the Tower, and defend themselves there ; then, that they intended to seize the royal treasure, blow up the magazine in the Tower, and in the confusion make their escape beyond sea and abide there ; next, that they were to make public proclamation in the Tower for adherents to repair to them, to whom they would promise 12*d.* per diem from the said treasure.

On the same day, however, (Aug. 2,) that these schemes in favour of Warwick are said to have been devised, the same parties are stated to have intended to set at liberty "Peter Warbeck, of Tournay," and to make him king. Cleymound, with the assent of the earl, knocks on the floor and calls out to Peter (who was confined beneath), "Perkin, be of good cheer and comfort," and promises to bring him a letter which he had received for him from Flanders.

On the following night, "when the earl and Cleymound were both in bed in the Tower," Cleymound told the earl that he had spoken with Perkin, who had told him "certain matters which made him very sad," that is, that they ought, "if they could perform the same by any subtlety or craft," to get possession of the Tower.

The next day Cleymound is reported to have said to the earl, "My lord, all our purpose which we intended to fulfil is made known to the king and his counsel by Peter Warbeck, and the said Peter hath accused you and me and Thomas Astwode." Yet in spite of this, the earl makes a hole in the floor of his chamber, "to the intent that he might converse with him concerning their

said treason" . . . . "and many subsequent times spoke to the said Peter, adhering to and comforting him, saying 'How goes it with you? be of good cheer.'" On these charges the earl was beheaded within the Tower, November 28, after an imprisonment of upwards of 14 years<sup>a</sup>.

The ridiculously contradictory and incredible nature of these accusations all but demonstrate that they were mere pretexts to get rid, not of an impostor, but of a prince who had already shaken Henry's power, and who it was feared might at a future day overturn it, if suffered to live.

A.D. 1500. Henry passes over with his queen to Calais, in May, and has an interview with the archduke Philip; they return after a stay of nine weeks. He arranges for the marriage of his son Arthur with Katherine of Arragon<sup>t</sup>, and of his daughter Margaret with James IV. of Scotland.

A.D. 1501. Katherine of Arragon arrives at Plymouth, October 2, and is married to Prince Arthur, November 14.

A.D. 1502. A treaty of peace is concluded with Scotland, Jan. 24, which provides that James shall marry the Princess Margaret<sup>u</sup>.

Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk<sup>v</sup>, retires to Flanders; several noblemen and gentlemen accused of con-

<sup>a</sup> Warwick had lived under restraint from his childhood, but it does not appear that he was treated as a close prisoner before the accession of Henry.

<sup>t</sup> The daughter of Ferdinand II. and Isabella of Spain.

<sup>u</sup> Partly in consequence of the youth of the bride, the marriage was not solemnized until August 8, 1503.

<sup>v</sup> Brother of the earl of Lincoln, killed at Stoke. See p. 120.

federating with him are imprisoned, and some executed<sup>w</sup>.

Henry's eldest son, Arthur, dies, April 2; to avoid repaying the fortune she had brought, Henry contracts his widow to his surviving son Henry, a boy of eleven years of age.

A.D. 1503. The pope (Alexander VI.), at the request of the king, limits the right of sanctuary<sup>x</sup>.

A.D. 1504. A parliament meets at Westminster, (Jan. 25,) of which Edmund Dudley, the great agent of Henry's extortions, is chosen speaker. The earl of Suffolk and his adherents are attainted, and their estates forfeited, a grant of £40,000 made<sup>y</sup>, and further sums raised by a "benevolence."

Corporations forbidden to make ordinances without the assent of the chancellor, [19 Hen. VII. c. 7]<sup>z</sup>.

The severity of former statutes against beggars and vagabonds mitigated, [c. 12].

Persons giving or receiving liveries to be prosecuted either in the Star-chamber, in the King's Bench, or before the Council, [c. 14].

The privileges of the merchants of the Hanse confirmed by parliament, [c. 23].

<sup>w</sup> Among them was Sir James Tyrell, popularly considered the murderer of the young princes in the Tower; but the charge was not brought forward until after his death.

<sup>x</sup> Persons who had taken sanctuary and had left it, were not allowed to avail themselves of it a second time, as had till now been the practice.

<sup>y</sup> This was instead of the aids due on knighting his eldest son and marrying his eldest daughter, (see vol. i. p. 178). Henry refused to receive more than £30,000, being, as the act says, "right well pleased with their loving offer."

<sup>z</sup> See p. 51.

The king empowered, on his own authority, to reverse acts of attainder<sup>a</sup>, [c. 28].

A.D. 1505. Christ's College, Cambridge, founded by Margaret, countess of Richmond.

A.D. 1506. The archduke Philip, being driven by bad weather into Weymouth, Jan. 26, is conducted to court, and obliged to agree to a new commercial treaty much less favourable than the existing one<sup>b</sup> for his subjects, and also to deliver up the earl of Suffolk<sup>c</sup>.

A.D. 1507. Henry falls ill ; he releases a great number of persons confined in the London prisons for small debts ; but at the same time allows Empson and Dudley, with the assistance of false witnesses (called promoters) and corrupt jurors, to plunder the rich, who are either ruined by excessive fines for pretended offences, or driven to give large sums by way of composition<sup>d</sup>.

A.D. 1508. The Scots carry on a naval war against

<sup>a</sup> The reason given is, that certain petitioners for such reversal would otherwise have a long time to wait, the parliament drawing to its close, and the king, "for the ease of his subjects," not intending to call another.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 124.

<sup>c</sup> Suffolk was induced to return on the promise that his life should be spared ; he was at once sent to the Tower, and died there.

<sup>d</sup> The lord mayors and other magistrates of London suffered severely from these men : Sir William Capel (mayor in 1503) paid in 1495 a fine of £1,000 ; he was now accused of negligence in the discharge of his office, and refusing to pay a composition of £2,000, was imprisoned in the Tower until Henry's death ; Sir Thomas Knesworth (mayor in 1505) paid £1,400 ; Sir Lawrence Aylmer (mayor in 1499) paid £1,000, and was likewise committed to prison ; sheriffs and aldermen also were heavily fined, and one of the latter (Christopher Hawes) Stow says "was so long vexed by the said promoters, that it shortened his life by thought-taking."

the Portuguese, under the conduct of three brothers of the name of Barton<sup>e</sup>.

A.D. 1509. Henry dies at Richmond, April 21; he is buried in the chapel he had built at Westminster, May 10.

\* The Portuguese had several years before seized a ship belonging to the father of the Bartons, and refusing to restore it, his sons obtained letters of reprisal, but the contest soon degenerated into piracy.



Henry VIII., from his Great Seal.



Arms of Henry VIII.

## HENRY VIII.

**HENRY**, the second son of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, was born at Greenwich, June 28, 1491. In his fourth year he was created duke of York; on the death of his elder brother he became prince of Wales, and he had many important offices bestowed on him in his boyhood<sup>1</sup>. In 1509, on the death of his father, he became king.

The first act of the new king was the popular, but unjust one, of condemning Empson and Dudley, the agents of his father's extortions, while he retained the fruits of their iniquity; his second, the marriage with Katherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, from which such important consequences afterwards arose. He was

<sup>1</sup> He was made lord lieutenant of Ireland Sept. 11, 1494, Sir Edward Poynings being named his deputy two days after.



soon engaged in war, was successful against both France and Scotland, and mainly from his vast, though ill-gotten treasure, aided by the talents of Wolsey<sup>6</sup>, established an influence for England on the continent which

<sup>6</sup> This able but unprincipled man was born at Ipswich in 1471, his father being perhaps, as is commonly asserted, a butcher, but evidently wealthy. He was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, and found patrons in Thomas, marquis of Dorset, and Dean, archbishop of Canterbury, whose chaplain he became. He also served as chaplain to Sir John Nanfan, the treasurer of Calais, and shewed so much aptitude for secular business, that he was by him recommended to Henry VII., who employed him in embassies.

On the accession of Henry VIII. Wolsey continued at court, accompanied the king to France, received high promotion in the Church, (he held at different times the sees of Tournay, Lincoln, Winchester, and York, and the dignity of cardinal and papal legate,) and for several years appeared to dispose of the affairs of Europe almost at his pleasure, although he once fell into disgrace through the failure of an attempt to raise money independently of the parliament, and had to surrender his newly-built palace of Hampton Court to make his peace. He induced the king alternately to league with and to make war on the emperor and the king of France, his great object being to secure the papacy for himself. His schemes, however, were foiled, and his temporizing conduct with regard to the king's divorce at last produced his own ruin.

Though he had received the royal permission to do so, Wolsey was, in 1529, accused of an offence against the statutes of *Præmunire* for acting as papal legate, was stripped of most of his vast possessions, and sent to reside on his diocese of York. He now began to devote himself to those duties of a Christian bishop which he had before neglected, but was soon apprehended on a charge of treason, and died at Leicester on his way as a prisoner to London, Nov. 29, 1530. Wolsey had always patronized learning, and had bestowed large estates (some of them obtained, however, by the suppression of small monasteries) on a college at Oxford, which he called Cardinal's College; the estates, through the neglect of certain legal formalities, fell into the hands of the Crown, but they were re-granted a few years after, when the college of Christ Church, Oxford, was founded by Henry VIII.; not, however, on the magnificent scale which the cardinal had intended, as his foundation was for a dean and a sub-dean, 100 canons, 13 chaplains, 10 professors and tutors, beside singing men and choristers, and other officers, making in the whole 186 persons.

has never since been lost, though it has suffered occasional diminution from various temporary causes. He several times crossed the sea, sometimes for pomp and negotiations only, but at others for actual warfare, and he retained until his death his conquest of Boulogne.

Henry's government at home does not present so favourable a picture. His scruples, whether real or affected, about his marriage, brought him into collision with the pope, and his imperious temper led him to endeavour to destroy the power which thwarted his views. Hence many of the violent and cruel measures which disgraced his reign. His quarrel really was, not with the doctrines, but with the supremacy of the pope and the riches of the monastic orders; he burnt as heretics those who disbelieved transubstantiation, and he hanged as traitors those who refused to allow his new title of Head of the Church. Among these the monastics were conspicuous, and partly from anger, but probably much more from covetousness, he threw down the establishments which his predecessors from time immemorial had endowed, and turned monks and nuns out to starve<sup>b</sup>. The suppression of the monasteries was doubtless necessary to the purification of the Church, and if such purification had been Henry's real object, his proceedings in the matter might be justified as a whole; but no such defence can be offered for the jealous tyranny of which Buckingham, Fisher, More<sup>i</sup>, the kin-

<sup>b</sup> Pensions, it is true, were granted, but they were ill paid, and thousands of monastics became beggars, against whom acts perhaps the most atrocious in any Statute-book were passed in the next reign, [1 Edw. VI. c. 3]. See p. 208.

<sup>i</sup> The cruel fate of these two eminent men affixes a blot on the personal character of Henry which nothing can remove. He had

dred of Cardinal Pole and so many others, were the victims. Even in matters which did not belong to the great political or religious questions of his reign, his government was harsh, and numerous severe laws were

acknowledged them as his intimate friends, but as in their consciences they could not approve of his proceedings in the matter of the divorce, he suffered them to be brought to the block by the inquisitorial diligence of Rich, the attorney-general.

John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and a Roman cardinal, was born in 1459, at Beverley, and was educated at Michael-house, Cambridge. He became confessor to Margaret, countess of Richmond, and was greatly instrumental in carrying out her pious intentions in the Universities. In 1504 he became bishop of Rochester, but continued his care of the University of Cambridge, of which he was the first chancellor chosen for life. He greatly pleased Henry by taking up his pen against Luther, but entirely lost his favour by maintaining with firmness the cause of Katherine of Arragon. His affection for that unfortunate queen induced him to listen to the declarations of the Maid of Kent, and he was in consequence attainted, sentenced to be imprisoned for life in the Tower, and was treated with extreme hardship. After a time his death was determined on, and being entrapped into a declaration that the king, as a layman, could not with a good conscience style himself Head of the Church, he was tried, condemned, and beheaded, at the age of 76, July 22, 1535.

Thomas More was the son of Sir John More, a judge, and was born in London in 1480. He was brought up in the household of Cardinal Morton, studied at Oxford, and obtained an important legal post in the city of London. He cultivated literature, and being introduced at court about 1521, he soon became a favourite with the king, whom he assisted in the composition of his work against Luther. More was made speaker of the House of Commons, and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, sent on an embassy to France, and at length succeeded Wolsey as chancellor. This last high office he resigned in 1532, as he disapproved of the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn. More was looked on with suspicion by Wriothesley and others, and harassed with false charges of treasonable correspondence; these were abandoned, but the oath of supremacy being offered to him, he refused to take it, and for this he was condemned and executed in the year 1535, preserving in his last moments the serenity and cheerfulness which had ever distinguished him. More was a most amiable character in every domestic relation; he conscientiously opposed the opinions of the Reformers, and laboured to suppress their translation of the Bible, yet he solemnly denied a charge of cruel persecution which they urged against him, and the whole tenor of his life leads us to hope that it is greatly exaggerated, if not wholly untrue.

enacted, and rigorously executed<sup>k</sup>; he ruled more absolutely than any English king had done before him; and such was the servility of his parliaments that they allowed his proclamations to have the force of laws; granted him, by the plunder of the Church, an amount of wealth which no former king had possessed; twice cancelled his debts; enforced all his changing opinions by the penalties of treason; and lastly, enabled him to dispose of the succession to the throne at his uncontrolled will and pleasure.

The last year of Henry's life was marked by the fall of the duke of Norfolk<sup>l</sup>, who had long been a main

<sup>k</sup> The chronicler Hollingshead says that 72,000 persons were executed in the course of his reign; a number not incredible, when it is considered that numerous new treasons and felonies were created by almost every parliament, and that sparing life when convicted was seldom thought of.

<sup>l</sup> Thomas Howard, born in 1478, was the son of the earl of Surrey, who gained the victory of Flodden; he was present there, and distinguished himself on many other occasions in Scotland, France, and Ireland. He was considered the head of the Romish party in England, procured the passing of the Act of the Six Articles, and otherwise greatly hindered the Reformation. At last, after many years of high favour, he fell into disgrace with Henry VIII., who seems to have suspected him and his son of aspiring to the crown, was attainted, and ordered for execution, but the king dying at that very period, the new government contented themselves with keeping him a prisoner during the whole of the reign of Edward VI. He was released by Mary, and his attainder set aside, but he took little further part in public affairs beyond presiding at the trial of the duke of Northumberland; he died July 18, 1554. He married, first, the princess Anne, daughter of Edward IV.; and, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of the duke of Buckingham.

Henry, earl of Surrey, one of our early poets, was the son of the duke, and was born in 1516; he was the companion and brother-in-law of the duke of Richmond, the king's natural son; travelled abroad, and distinguished himself in arms, in Scotland and France;



Arms of Howard, duke of Norfolk.

supporter of the Romish doctrines ; Seymour, Cranmer, and others of the reformers, were appointed by his will the guardians of his son, and the king died shortly after, Jan. 28, 1547. He was buried at Windsor. Feb. 16, according to the Roman ritual, and a very gorgeous tomb was commenced to his memory ; but it was never completed, and was at length plundered, and afterwards destroyed during the civil war in the time of Charles I.

Henry contracted the unexampled number of six marriages, all except the last unhappy in their results. His first union, with his sister-in-law, Katherine of Arragon, though clearly unlawful in its nature, was sanctioned by the authority of the pope, and afforded him, from the virtues of his partner, the only calm and peaceful years that he enjoyed in the married state. Scruples as to its legality at length arose, which were converted into certainty by the attractions of Anne Boleyn, an attendant of Katherine, who became queen only to find a dishonoured grave a few months after the death of her injured mistress. Henry next married Jane Seymour, who shortly died in child-bed ; a political union was then entered into with Anne of Cleves, and shortly after unceremoniously dissolved, its chief result being the ruin of its contriver, Thomas Cromwell. His fifth marriage was with Katherine Howard, who in less

he was for awhile governor of Boulogne, but being ignominiously removed, he gave vent to his displeasure in words which were carried to the king ; he was accused, like his father, of treason, condemned, and executed, Jan. 21, 1547. One of his sons was Thomas, duke of Norfolk, beheaded in 1572.

than two years was brought to the block ; and in eighteen months more Henry espoused a widow lady, Katherine Parr, who though endangered by her adherence to the doctrines of the Reformation, had the fortune to survive him.

Beside children who died young<sup>m</sup>, Henry had by Katherine of Arragon, MARY ; by Anne Boleyn, ELIZABETH ; and by Jane Seymour, EDWARD, who all became sovereigns.

Henry had also a natural son by Lady Elizabeth Tailboys. He was born about 1517, was named Henry ; was created earl of Nottingham, duke of Richmond and Somerset, and appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Sir William Skeffington being his deputy). He married Mary, a daughter of the duke of Norfolk, but died without issue in his 20th year, July 22, 1536, and was buried at Thetford. He is spoken of as graceful and accomplished.

The royal arms continued the same as in the preceding reigns, but are generally within the garter and crowned. The supporters, however, vary ; the more ordinary are the golden lion and red dragon ; but the red dragon also occurs as the dexter supporter, while for the sinister ones, a white bull, a white greyhound, and a white cock are mentioned.

The only known badge of Henry is the white greyhound, courant ; but those of his wives are the pomegranate, the pomegranate and rose, and the sheaf of

<sup>m</sup> The number is disputed ; some writers mention two, others four.

arrows of Katherine of Arragon; the crowned falcon



Badges of Katherine of Arragon.

and sceptre of Anne Boleyn; the castle and phoenix of Jane Seymour; and the maiden's head and rose of Katherine Parr.



Badges of Anne Boleyn, Jane Seymour, and Katherine Parr.

As the prominent actor in the final breach between England and the Church of Rome, the character of Henry has ordinarily been estimated more according to the feeling of writers in favour of or against that great change, than with a due regard to other matters. His actions, however, shew that his temper was most impetuous, that he was vain of his learning, jealous of his power, and alternately avaricious and prodigal; it is also evident that these defects were fostered by interested advisers, who thus served their own ends, but exhibited

their king as a capricious tyrant, who threw off the yoke of Rome only to be as absolute himself. His alliance was so sedulously courted by foreign princes that he was led to believe himself the arbiter of Europe, yet his various allies repeatedly deserted him without ceremony whenever they had an opportunity of making peace without him, and while they did adhere to him they usually managed to make him pay far more than his due proportion of the costs of their joint enterprises.

In his private character, Henry must be regarded with abhorrence. A boast is attributed to him that "he never spared a woman in his lust, or a man in his anger," and his conduct justifies the remark. Those who had served him but "too well" (as Wolsey<sup>n</sup> and Cromwell<sup>o</sup>) were abandoned to destruction when no

▪ "Cardinal Wolsey had been an honest man if he had had an honest master," was a part of the "treasonable discourses" for which Lord Montacute (the brother of Reginald Pole,) was convicted and executed; it is, perhaps, a just estimate of Wolsey's character. His correspondence, which is preserved in the State Paper Office, shews that Henry only took the cardinal's advice when it pleased him; he does not appear to have changed any of his own purposes.

• Thomas Cromwell, the son of a blacksmith, was born about 1490. He was employed in the English factory at Antwerp, was afterwards engaged in the service of Henry VIII., but at length became a soldier, and was present at the sack of Rome in 1527. He soon after returned to England, entered the family of Cardinal Wolsey, was much esteemed by him, and, as the redeeming feature in a bad character, had the honesty and courage to adhere to him when fallen. He perhaps thus recommended himself to the favour of Henry VIII., who bestowed many lucrative offices on him, and received in return all the services that a bold, artful, and utterly unscrupulous agent could render, whether in divorcing his queen, plundering the Church, or establishing his own opinions as standards of doctrine. In 1539 he was created earl of Essex, but soon after, for no very apparent cause, he lost the royal favour, was committed to prison, attainted without a hearing, after a fashion which he had lately employed against his opponents, and beheaded July 28, 1540, in spite of supplications of the most abject nature. He concludes one letter thus:—



longer useful; the pious and faithful Katherine suffered a living martyrdom; his five other wives fared little better; and his daughters were made to feel that their lives and fortunes depended on his absolute will. Thus destitute of gratitude and natural feeling, it is not wonderful to find him also without the honesty to pay his debts, or the honour to adhere to his public engagements<sup>p</sup>. Yet, with all his vices, he was the instrument of good to posterity which is not always appreciated as it ought to be; for his hand overthrew the power which had long denied to England a Bible and Service-book in the common tongue, and had endeavoured to render the word of God of none effect by its traditions. He was too, at least in the earlier part of his reign, a popular favourite; he occasionally mixed with the humble classes, and admitted them to a rude kind of familiarity; they admired his handsome person, and his skill in athletic and martial sports; and, unlike those above them, they had little to apprehend from his cruelty or his avarice.

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A.D. 1509. Henry succeeds to the throne, April 22<sup>d</sup>.

A proclamation issued promising redress to persons who had been injured in the former reign by the rigorous execution of obsolete statutes, under the management of

"Written at the Tower this Wednesday, the last of June, with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your Highness' most heavy and most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, Thomas Cromwell.

"Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy."

<sup>p</sup> His parliaments relieved him from the first in 1529 and 1544, and he was alternately the ally and the enemy of both Charles V. and Francis I.; but these princes were equally regardless of treaties with himself.

<sup>q</sup> His regnal years are dated from this day.

Empson and Dudley, who, with many of their subordinates, are committed to prison<sup>1</sup>.

Henry, by advice of his council<sup>2</sup>, marries Katherine of Arragon, June 7; they are crowned at Westminster, June 24.

Empson and Dudley are brought to trial, and pronounced guilty of high treason<sup>3</sup>.

A.D. 1510. Thomas Wolsey is introduced to the court by Richard Fox<sup>4</sup>, bishop of Winchester, and soon becomes a favourite with the king.

<sup>1</sup> It was found upon enquiry that a much larger sum than the young king was inclined to part with would be necessary to afford compensation, and he contented himself instead with punishing the chief delinquents as traitors; their subordinates escaped with imprisonment and the pillory.

<sup>2</sup> Wareham, archbishop of Canterbury, and lord chancellor, strenuously opposed the marriage, but without effect.

<sup>3</sup> They were charged with a design to "hold, guide and govern the king and his council," to subjugate the nobility, and to destroy all who resisted. The indictments state that, when the late king lay on his death-bed, Empson retained in Northamptonshire John Stalworth, Robert Warwick and others, by a fee of one penny each, and they came to London, where Dudley by letters to Sir Edward Sutton and others, on the 22nd April assembled "a great force of men and armed power," to carry their purposes into effect. Dudley was tried at London, July 18, and Empson at Northampton, Oct. 1; they were executed together on Tower-hill, Aug. 18, 1510. An act was passed to prevent such vexatious suits as they had prosecuted; it provided that all suits on penal statutes should be commenced within three years after the time of the alleged offence [1 Hen. VIII. c. 4.]

<sup>4</sup> Richard Fox was born at Grantham, and was educated at both Universities. He was early attached to the court, and was employed by Henry VII. on several important embassies, and particularly in the negotiations for the marriage of the princess Margaret with James IV. of Scotland. In 1487, being then the king's secretary, he was made bishop of Exeter, and afterwards held the sees of Bath and Wells, Durham and Winchester. Beside founding Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Bishop Fox endowed several grammar schools, (particularly one in his native town,) and exhibited great liberality in adorning his cathedral of Winchester, which see he held for twenty-seven years. He died Sept. 14, 1528, and was buried in his church, where his elegant chantry still attracts attention equally with those of Wykeham, Beaufort, and Waynesflete.

The statutes against costly apparel modified, [1 Hen. VIII. c. 14].

Andrew Barton, the Scottish privateer<sup>a</sup>, is killed, and his ships captured in the Downs, by Sir Edward Howard<sup>x</sup>, the admiral.

A.D. 1511. Henry forms a league with Ferdinand of Spain, for the purpose of attacking France, Nov. 10.

St. John's College, Cambridge, founded in pursuance of the will of Margaret, countess of Richmond<sup>y</sup>.

A.D. 1512. James of Scotland forms a league with France, May 22.

Physicians and surgeons forbidden to practise unless licensed by the bishop of the diocese, [3 Hen. VIII. c. 11].

Fortifications ordered to be erected on the coast between Plymouth and the Land's End, [4 Hen. VIII. c. 2<sup>z</sup>].

Benefit of clergy taken from murderers and felons, [4 Hen. VIII. sess. 2, c. 2].

An English force sent under the marquis of Dorset to Spain; it remains inactive on the borders of France from June to December, waiting for the Spaniards, and then returns home greatly weakened by sickness.

Sir Edward Howard ravages the French coast, and defeats the French fleet near Brest, Aug. 10.

<sup>a</sup> See p. 188.

<sup>x</sup> The son of the earl of Surrey, and grandson of the duke of Norfolk who was killed at Bosworth.

<sup>y</sup> This, like Jesus College, was the conversion of an existing establishment to collegiate purposes.

<sup>z</sup> This statute directs the justices of peace to survey Cornwall, and compel the inhabitants to labour in the erection of "bulwarks" without pay, the land and materials being provided in like manner without remuneration.

The Trinity House established for the encouragement of navigation.

A.D. 1513. Sir Edward Howard is killed in an attempt to destroy the French fleet<sup>a</sup>, near Brest, April 25.

The French and the English coasts are ravaged by the rival fleets.

A fresh league is formed against France between the emperor (Maximilian), the pope (Leo X.) and the kings of England and Spain, April 5.

Henry passes over to France, June 30; he besieges and captures Terouanne, Aug. 22<sup>b</sup>.

The Scots invade England, but are defeated with great slaughter at Flodden, (near Wooller,) in Northumberland, Sept. 9, by the earl of Surrey<sup>c</sup>.

Tournay is invested and speedily captured (Sept. 29), when Henry holds his court there<sup>d</sup>.

Henry returns to England, Nov. 24.

A.D. 1514. The French burn Brighton, and ravage the Sussex coast.

An act passed for the due administration of justice in

<sup>a</sup> He was succeeded in his office of admiral by his brother, Sir Thomas, afterwards duke of Norfolk.

<sup>b</sup> A few days before, (Aug. 16,) a French army attempting to relieve the town was put to flight so precipitately, that the affair is commonly known as the Battle of the Spurs.

<sup>c</sup> The king was killed, as was his natural son, Alexander, archbishop of St. Andrew's, three other prelates, twenty-five nobles, and four hundred knights and gentlemen. James' body was embalmed at Berwick, and after a considerable time was wrapped in lead and deposited in the monastery at Richmond. It was apparently disinterred at the dissolution of the house, and was lying in a lumber-room in the time of the antiquary Stow.

<sup>d</sup> The see was at that time vacant, and as the bishop-elect refused to swear fealty to the conqueror, it was given to the king's almoner, Wolsey, who shortly after received also the bishopric of Lincoln, (Feb. 6, 1514,) and before the end of the year was translated to York.

the conquered towns of Terouanne and Tournay, [5 Hen. VIII. c. 1].

Peace is concluded with France and Scotland, Aug. 7; Louis XII. agreeing to pay a large sum of money, and also to marry Mary, the king's youngest sister<sup>e</sup>.

The queen-mother of Scotland marries the earl of Angus (Archibald Douglas), and endeavours to procure the regency for him; John, duke of Albany<sup>f</sup>, is invited from France by the parliament, and received as governor.

A.D. 1515. Louis XII. of France dies, Jan. 1; he is succeeded by his son-in-law, the duke of Angouleme, (Francis I.).

A dispute arises between the parliament and the convocation respecting the claim of the clergy to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the king's courts.

The queen-mother and her husband plot against the duke of Albany, but are obliged to flee to England.

Wolsey is, through the king's influence, declared a cardinal, Sept. 11; he is made chancellor, Dec. 22, and appears to govern the kingdom at his pleasure.

## IRELAND.

The miserable condition of Ireland, and the merely nominal nature of the English rule there in the time of

<sup>e</sup> They were married at Abbeville, Oct. 9. The king died three months after, and his widow soon married Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

<sup>f</sup> The son of Alexander, duke of Albany, brother of James III.; he had great estates in France, and had gained much reputation as a military commander in the French wars in Italy. He arrived in Scotland May 18, 1515, but many conspiracies and rebellions were formed against him, and after several visits to France, he finally withdrew in 1524.

Henry VIII., are well shewn in a document preserved in the State Paper Office, and ascribed to the year 1515<sup>g</sup>. The writer enumerates more than sixty "chief captains" of the king's "Irish enemies," and more than half as many "great captains of the English noble folk," some being distinguished as the "English great rebels," others as "captains that obey not the king's law;" he names the districts that have neither justice nor sheriff, "wherein all the English folk are of Irish habit, of Irish language, and of Irish condition, except in the cities and the walled towns;" and states that, even in the English pale, (the eastern half of the counties of Louth, Meath, Dublin, Kildare, and Wexford<sup>h</sup>, the western half of each being a march land, more disorderly, if possible, than the more distant districts,) "the common people, for the more part, be of Irish birth, of Irish habit, and of Irish language."

The Irish chief captains, the writer states, called themselves, "some kings, some king's peers, some princes, some dukes, some archdukes;" each made peace and war for himself, and held his place by the sword, having imperial jurisdiction within his country, and obeyed no person, English or Irish; their districts were some as large as a shire, some less, but the same state of things prevailed in them all, a multitude of minor chiefs ("tyshagh," or duke, in its original

<sup>g</sup> It is printed in the State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII., Part III. p. 1. Many of its statements are borne out by acts of the English Parliament, particularly 13 Hen. VIII. c. 3, and 25 Hen. VIII. c. 15; and others are authenticated by the Ordinances for the Government of Ireland, issued in 1534, to be found in the same work, p. 207.

<sup>h</sup> The sea-coast of Wexford had been reconquered by MacMorrough, an Irish chief, who received "tribute" from the royal exchequer at least as late as 1537.

sense of a military leader,) existing in each, who gave no more obedience to the nominal head than he was able to enforce by the sword. On the death of each chief his successor was appointed, not by any law, "but he that hath the strongest arm and the hardiest sword among them, hath best right and title;" so that few of the regions were ever at peace within themselves. The most potent chiefs maintained a force of from 200 to 500 mounted spearmen, as many galloglasses (heavy-armed men), and 1000 or more kernes (light-armed troops<sup>1</sup>); these lived the whole year round at free quarter on the husbandmen either of their own or the neighbouring districts, having their portion of plunder for their only wages.

The English great captains lived as much as possible in the same way. In spite of the Statutes of Kilkenny<sup>j</sup>, they had universally adopted the Irish manners and language, many had taken Irish names<sup>k</sup>, and all had, by in-

<sup>1</sup> The kernes were the common people, the horsemen and galloglasses the gentry. Neither kerne nor horseman had any defensive armour, but the galloglasses were clad in mail, and carried a "spar," or long-handled axe; they usually decided the fate of any pitched battle. Sometimes they appear to have been Scottish mercenaries, ready to transfer their services to the best paymaster. "These sort of men," says the deputy St. Leger, "be those that do not lightly abandon the field, but bide the brunt to the death." Each horseman had at least three horses, and as many attendants; the galloglasses also had boys with them, bearing darts, which they cast at the enemy before their masters came to the hand-stroke. The horsemen were divided into "banners," varying from twenty to eighty men; and the galloglasses into "battles," of sixty or eighty.

<sup>j</sup> See vol. i. p. 394.

<sup>k</sup> For example, the lords Barry and De Courcy bore the names of Mac Adam and Mac Patrick; the Berminghams and De Burghs styled themselves Mac Fioris and Mac William; the Dexters (de Exonia) and Fitz-Stephens, Mac Jordan and Mac Slany. These and 30 more Anglo-Irish chiefs "follow the same Irish order and keep the same rule, and every one of them maketh war and peace

termarriages and fostering, so linked themselves with the native chiefs, that the king's officers<sup>1</sup> could never depend on any service from them against the great O'Neal, or O'Connor, or MacMorrough, who perpetually harassed the pale, and received payments of "tribute" from each county, and even from the king's exchequer<sup>m</sup>; and any attempt to extend the king's authority over either English or Irish dwelling beyond the pale, was commonly met, and defeated, by the confederacy of both. Indeed, from the manner in which the royal officers generally behaved in the district under their power, there was little to induce any one to submit to their rule. The same number of judges and officers was kept up as when the greater part of the island acknowledged the royal authority; and the expense of their maintenance was so great that the freeholders of the pale daily deserted their holdings to escape the intolerable imposition: for, "what with the extor-

for himself without any licence of the king, or any other temporal person, save him that may subdue them by the sword."

<sup>1</sup> These officers, too, adopted the Irish custom most oppressive to the people. The writer, alluding doubtless to the earl of Kildare, who so long held the post of deputy, says, "Some time, in our days, the king's deputy used always to have about him, whenever that he did ride, a strong guard on horseback of spears and bows, well garnished, after the English manner, that paid truly for their meat and drink, wherever they did ride; now, guard of the king's deputy is none other than a multitude of Irish galloglasses, and a multitude of Irish kernes and spears, with infinite number of horselads; and with the said guard the king's deputy is ever moving and stirring from one place to another; and, with extortion of coin and livery, consumeth and devoureth all the substance of the poor folk, and of the common people of all the king's subjects." He, however, did not venture to practise these extortions on the port towns, or on the nobles of the pale.

<sup>m</sup> "The English counties that bear tribute to the wild Irish" are enumerated; the whole sum is £740 English money, of which eighty marks were paid from the exchequer to Mac Morough (or Kavanagh), of Idrone, county Carlow.



tion of coin and livery daily, and with the wrongful exaction of hosting money, and of carriage and cartage daily, and what with the king's great subsidy yearly, and with the said tribute and black rent to the king's Irish enemies, and other infinite extortions and daily exactions<sup>a</sup>, all the English folk of the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Uriel (Louth), be more oppressed than any other folk of this land, English or Irish, and of worse condition be they on this side than in the marches."

As might be expected, the Church was in a deplorable condition. "The noble folk of Ireland oppress and spoil the prelates of the Church of Christ of their possessions and liberties; and therefore they have no fortune, no grace, no prosperity of body or soul." The prelates and clergy, however, were themselves greatly to blame, "for there is no archbishop, no bishop, abbot, no prior, parson, no vicar, nor any other person of the Church, high or low, great or small, English or Irish. that useth to preach the word of God, saving the poor friars beggars; if their word of God do cease, there can be no grace, and without the special grace of God, this land may never be reformed."

The writer then notices the various causes assigned for the decay of the land, and having shewn that it is mainly to be attributed to the evil conduct of the "English noble folk," advises "the sword of the common folk" to be employed against them; in other words, that the

<sup>a</sup> Some particulars of these exactions will be found under A.D. 1537, from the inquests taken by St. Leger and other commissioners on the subject. See p. 182.

tenants of Meath shall first be armed and trained in the English manner, being supported by 500 English horsemen; then the same course to be taken in each county of the pale; and when the whole (estimated at 100,000 men) are ready, the king to come over with a body of 2,000 men, and force the "great English rebels" to submit to his laws; then to introduce at least one man from each parish in England; to compel the English to inclose their fields and gardens, and plant trees; and to conciliate the Irish (who are represented as well inclined to submit to the king's laws, if they could be sure of protection from the lawless English<sup>o</sup>), by offering a peerage to each great captain, and knighthood to each petty captain; to appoint the bishops and great landholders justices of the peace, and oblige all to adopt the English habit, and to bring up their children to the English language, and in habits of industry, suffering no idle men or vagabonds, "upon pain of their lives."

These sensible suggestions are said to be taken from a work by the Pandar<sup>p</sup>, who, however, ventures also on prophecy, and fixes the happy change he anticipates from them for the year 1517, and says, "The prophecy is, that the king of England shall put this land in such order, that all the wars of the land, whereof groweth all the vices of the same, shall cease for ever; and after that, God shall give such grace and fortune to the said king, that he shall, with the army of England and of Ireland, subdue the realm of France to his obedience for ever,

<sup>o</sup> See vol. i. p. 370.

<sup>p</sup> A manuscript exists in the British Museum, entitled "Pandarus Salus Populi, de rebus Hibernicis, temp. Hen. VI.," which is probably the book referred to.

and shall rescue the Greeks, and recover the great city of Constantinople, and shall vanquish the Turks, and win the Holy Cross and the Holy Land, and shall die emperor of Rome, and eternal bliss shall be his end."

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A.D. 1516. A new league is formed against the king of France, Oct. 29.

A.D. 1517. A riot against the foreign merchants and artisans settled in London occurs May 1, which is afterwards known as "evil May-day<sup>q</sup>."

Wolsey receives the office of papal legate; his co-adjutor is Lawrence Campegius, a Roman cardinal.

A.D. 1518. Wolsey is bribed by the king of France, and promotes a treaty between him and the king, in opposition to the existing league.

A.D. 1519. The emperor Maximilian dies, Jan. 12; after some time, his grandson Charles of Spain (Charles V.) is elected<sup>r</sup>.

St. Mary Magdalene College, Cambridge, founded by Henry, duke of Buckingham<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>q</sup> One John Lincoln, a broker, induced Dr. Bell, a canon of the Spital, to preach against the foreigners, at the customary Easter sermon (Tuesday, April 14); in consequence, the houses of many foreigners were sacked. Near 800 of the rioters were made prisoners, and the city was occupied for some days by the duke of Norfolk with a large force. Lincoln and about a dozen others were executed, but the rest were pardoned after a short delay, at the intercession of Queen Katherine, and her sister queens of France and Scotland.

<sup>r</sup> Henry proposed contesting the empire, but soon abandoned the idea; Francis I. strove eagerly to obtain it, and his disappointment vented itself in wars against his successful rival, which lasted (with some slight intermissions) for the remainder of his life.

<sup>s</sup> He called it after his own name, Buckingham College; but being soon after attainted, he left it poorly endowed. Lord Audley, of Walden, about twenty years after, became a considerable benefactor, and gave the college its present appellation.

## IRELAND.

A.D. 1520. Thomas, earl of Surrey, is appointed lord-lieutenant, April.

Gerald, earl of Kildare, died in 1512, and was succeeded by his son, also named Gerald, who, with all the ambition of his father, was less successful in contending with the hereditary rivals of his house, the Butlers. Sir Pierce Butler, afterwards earl of Ormond and Ossory, was a resident in England; and his representations to Cardinal Wolsey of the state of Ireland had such effect, that Kildare was deprived of his government, and the earl of Surrey substituted, with full powers, on paper, to redress the disorders of the land; but being ill supplied with money and military force<sup>t</sup>, he solicited and obtained his recall in less than two years after, and Butler was appointed deputy (March 6, 1522). Kildare was reappointed in 1524, after signing (Aug. 4) a formal indenture, in which he bound himself in a penalty of £1,000 to pursue a legal course of government. This, however, made no difference in his conduct, or in that of Butler; and at last, in 1527, both were summoned to England to give account of their proceedings, Richard Nugent, Lord Delvin, being appointed vice-deputy. The Irish council complained of his inefficiency, and petitioned for the return of both the earls, as the only defence of the

<sup>t</sup> He took with him, beside other forces, 100 of the royal guard, but these being mostly "men of some substance in England," soon grew tired of the rough service, and Surrey obtained permission to pension them off at 1d. a-day (their ordinary pay at home was 4d. and in Ireland 6d.), hiring instead spearmen from the Welsh and northern borders. These, too, frequently mutinied for want of their pay.

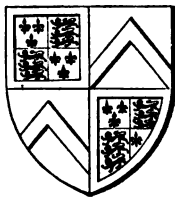
land against the natives; and when, shortly after, (May 12, 1528,) Delvin was made prisoner by O'Connor, (a native chief and son-in-law of Kildare,) they at once elected a brother of the earl, Sir Thomas Fitzgerald, in his place. He was allowed to hold the post for a while; and though, in August, 1529, Sir William Skeffington was sent as deputy, his instructions rendered him, in reality, subordinate to Kildare, who in 1530 was again installed in his ancient post.

A.D. 1520. The emperor (Charles V.) seeks the favour of Wolsey by grants of pensions, and also visits Henry in his journey from Spain to Germany.

Henry proceeds to France, and holds a series of formal interviews with Francis, between Guisnes and Ardres, June 4—25; he also visits the emperor at Gravelines, and returns to England in July.

A.D. 1521. The duke of Buckingham is charged with treason<sup>a</sup>, convicted by his peers, May 13, and executed, May 17.

<sup>a</sup> He was the son of Henry, duke of Buckingham, executed in 1483, by Katherine Woodville, sister to the queen of Edward IV., was descended from Thomas of Woodstock, son of Edward III., and quartered the royal arms. He built a stately mansion at Thornbury, in Gloucestershire, and enclosed a vast park there, to the extreme discontent of the people around; this was taken as evidence of disloyal views, and contributed to his downfall. On his trial he was charged with aspiring to the crown as long back as 1511, and with consulting with Nicholas Hopkins, a Carthusian monk, who pretended to divine revelations, and assured him that he should become king. He was further charged with intending to kill the king, and to behead Cardinal Wolsey, Sir Thomas Lovel, and others. In 1523 he was attainted by act of par-



Arms of Stafford, duke of Buckingham.

The king writes a book on the Seven Sacraments, in opposition to the views of Luther<sup>\*</sup>, and receives in re-

liament [14 & 15 Hen. VIII. c. 20], but this act was in reality one of grace to protect the interests of numerous persons who had held property or office under him, and by subsequent statutes of the same parliament some provision was made for his wife and his son; the latter was restored in blood under the title of Lord Stafford, by Edward VI.

<sup>\*</sup> Martin Luther, the son of a miner, was born at Eiseleben, in Saxony, in 1483. He joined the Augustinian order, and being a man of talent, and a good preacher, he soon became popular. He received the appointment of divinity professor in the University of Eisenach, and also visited Rome on the business of his order, where he displayed much zeal and firmness in opposing some attempted violation of their privileges. It had been customary to extend to the Augustinians the disposal of indulgences in Germany; but when Pope Leo X. wished to raise money by such means, he employed instead Tetzel and other Dominicans, who abused the charge, and thus laid themselves open to the fierce denunciations of Luther, who was supported by his own order, and, as a consequence of his popularity as a preacher, by the people also. He was summoned to Rome, but declining to appear, a cardinal (Cajetan) was sent to Germany to conduct a process against him. Luther was protected by Frederic, elector of Saxony, and in his own justification published a statement of his opinions, differing greatly from the established Church system, in regard to the sacrament of the Eucharist, the number of the other sacraments, the obligation of monastic vows, of confession, of indulgences, the rights and duties of the clergy, the employment of an unknown tongue in public worship, and in many other particulars. In consequence, he was excommunicated, in 1520, but he openly defied the papal power, burnt the bull, (Dec. 10,) and though cited before the Diet of Worms in the following year, and put under the ban of the empire, (May 26,) refused to make any submission. His protector, the elector of Saxony, placed him for safety in the castle of Wartbourg, where he occupied his time in digesting the system of doctrine since so well known by his name, and which now prevails in a large part of Protestant Europe, and in a translation of the Bible into German.

Henry VIII. undertook to reply to Luther in regard to the Sacraments, and in his book (*Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum*) he treated the "arch-heretic," as he styled him, rather coarsely. The reformer replied with equal intemperance, for he was naturally fearless, and each year saw new princes join his party, some actuated by dislike of the papal system, others by fear or hatred of the proceedings of the emperor (Charles V.) At length, in 1532, the Diet at Nuremberg conceded a kind of protection to his adherents, and though this agreement was not adhered to, but instead war speedily followed, the Lutheran opinions

turn from the pope (Leo X.) the title of Defender of the Faith, by bull dated Oct. 11, 1521.

War breaks out between Charles V. and Francis I.; the king mediates a peace. Wolsey is sent to Calais, and holds conferences for the purpose, in August, without effect, but also secretly forms another league with the emperor against Francis.

A.D. 1522. The emperor again visits England, in May; the king declares war against France.

Francis negotiates treaties with the earl of Desmond (Maurice Fitzgerald) and other nobles, for the conquest of Ireland.

The earl of Surrey ravages the coast of Brittany.

Vast sums are raised by way of loan or "benevolence," and an army sent into the north of France; Picardy is devastated, and a great amount of booty brought into Calais.

A.D. 1523. A parliament meets, April 15; Sir Thomas More is the speaker. Wolsey visits the house in great state, and endeavours to procure a large grant of money; this is at length obtained. The convocation grant one

were very generally received in the north and west of Germany, in Switzerland, in Sweden and in Denmark; divisions soon broke out, and views differing from those of Luther were advocated by Zuñglius and others, but he continued the acknowledged head of the opponents of the papacy until his death, which occurred at Wittemberg, Dec. 18, 1546, leaving by his wife Catherine Bora, who had been a nun, a family of three sons, of whom nothing remarkable is recorded.

7 The king was to supply ships and troops, and was to have Kinsale and other western ports assigned to him; Desmond, already palatine of Kerry, was to have the south of Ireland in full sovereignty; Richard de la Pole, the exiled nephew of Edward IV., was to be king of the remainder; the plan, however, came to nothing.

half of their revenues, as a token of their gratitude for the king's book against Luther<sup>a</sup>.

The king empowered by his letters patent to reverse attainders for high treason [14 & 15 Hen. VIII. c. 21.]

The duke of Bourbon leagues with the emperor and the king against Francis<sup>a</sup>.

The duke of Suffolk (Charles Brandon<sup>b</sup>) ravages France as far as the environs of Paris, but is obliged to return to Calais, without effecting any permanent conquests.

The Scots, incited by the French, land in the north of Ireland, but are unsuccessful; the earl of Surrey invades Scotland, and captures Jedburgh, Sept. 24.

The pope (Adrian VI.) dies, Sept. 24; Wolsey aspires to succeed him; he is supported by the king, but is disappointed.

A.D. 1524. The French are driven out of Italy

<sup>a</sup> See p. 156.

<sup>a</sup> The duke, who was constable of France, had received many injuries from the queen-mother, Louisa of Savoy. He signed a treaty for the partition of France, served for a while with the emperor's troops in Italy, attempted in vain to cause an insurrection in his native country, and was at last killed (May 6, 1527) while heading his troops at the sack of Rome.

<sup>b</sup> He was the nephew of Richmond's standard-bearer at Bosworth, and had been brought up in the court as the companion of Prince Henry, where he became a great favourite, from his handsome person and his skill in martial exercises. He was created Lord Lisle by Henry VIII., went with him on his expedition to France, and was soon after raised to a dukedom; his marriage with the queen was readily forgiven, he had great grants of abbey lands, and he continued in favour with the king his whole life. He made several incursions in France, from Calais, on one occasion nearly reaching Paris; greatly exerted himself in putting down the insurrections in England, and was the first to enter Boulogne when captured by the king. Suffolk died shortly after, Aug. 24, 1545, and was buried at Henry's charge at Windsor. He was four times married, his royal bride being his third partner; by her he left two sons, who both died in youth, and two daughters.



early in the year. Francis, however, heads a new army, and penetrates as far as Milan.

Wolsey being dissatisfied with the emperor, inclines the king towards peace with France.

A.D. 1525. Francis is defeated and taken prisoner at Pavia, by the forces of the emperor, Feb. 24<sup>c</sup>.

The king, by the advice of Wolsey, endeavours to raise funds without the sanction of parliament for the invasion of France; the demand is unanimously resisted, and is at length abandoned.

The emperor reproaches the king for his private negotiations with France, on which treaties are concluded with the queen-mother, Aug. 30, and all intercourse with the emperor broken off.

Wolsey being clamoured against for the recent attempt at illegal exactions, presents Hampton Court (his newly built and magnificent seat) to the king, and is restored to favour.

A.D. 1526. The king of France is set at liberty by the emperor, on very hard conditions<sup>d</sup>, March 17.

He secures the support of the king, and of several Italian princes, and refuses to abide by some of the most onerous stipulations.

A.D. 1527. Rome sacked, and the pope (Clement VII.) made prisoner by the imperialists<sup>e</sup>.

\* The rout was so total, that Francis announced it thus to his mother: "Madam, all is lost, but honour." Among the slain was the "White Rose of England," Richard de la Pole.

<sup>d</sup> Among other things in this treaty, made at Madrid, he was obliged to agree to surrender Burgundy to the emperor; to reinstate Bourbon and his adherents; to pay large sums of money; and to give his two sons as hostages.

<sup>e</sup> He took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, but was obliged to surrender, June 7; his imprisonment excited much indignation,

Wolsey goes in state to France, and concludes a new treaty between the king and Francis.

The king applies to the pope to examine into the lawfulness of his marriage with Katherine of Arragon<sup>f</sup>. The pope grants a commission to two cardinals to inquire into the case.

A.D. 1528. The kings of England and France declare war against the emperor, Jan. 22.

The pope grants a new commission to Cardinals Wolsey and Campegius, to try the question of the king's marriage, June 6.

A truce concluded with the emperor, June 8.

Campegius arrives in England, Oct. 7<sup>g</sup>.

The king makes a speech at the palace of Bridewell to the nobility and others, explaining his motives for seeking a divorce, Nov. 8.

The cardinals wait on the queen, and endeavour in vain to induce her to consent to a dissolution of her marriage.

A.D. 1529. The cardinals hold a court at the Black Friars' monastery, in London, open their commission,

and the emperor was obliged to set him at liberty before the end of the year. Rome suffered every imaginable calamity from the conquerors, who were chiefly Germans, and who fully indulged their national hatred to the Italians.

<sup>f</sup> It seems probable that he entertained scruples on this point as early as the year 1524, as he then ceased to live with the queen, though he continued to treat her with outward respect and attention, which were denied to her at a later period. She continued to reside in the court until July 14, 1531, when she was peremptorily ordered to leave Windsor, and she never saw Henry after.

<sup>g</sup> He was furnished with a bull dissolving the king's marriage, but he refused to publish it, and after a time destroyed it, in consequence of instructions from the pope, who had come to an understanding with the emperor.

and summon the king and queen to appear before them, May 31.

The legatine court commenced its regular session on June 18, when the queen appeared, protested against the legates as partial judges, and declared that her cause had been removed to Rome. On the 21st she again appeared, as also did the king, when the legates intimating their intention of proceeding with the cause, she withdrew, and was thereupon pronounced contumacious. The court met several times during the ensuing month, and received evidence touching the marriage of Prince Arthur, and on July 30, without coming to any decision, adjourned until October 1<sup>h</sup>. The king went on a progress early in August, accompanied by Anne Boleyn<sup>1</sup>, gave an audience at Grafton to the legates, whom he dismissed, and never more suffered Wolsey to enter his presence.

The peace of Cambray is concluded between the emperor and the king of France, Aug. 5<sup>h</sup>.

Thomas Cranmer<sup>1</sup> advises that the king shall ask the

<sup>1</sup> They were probably aware, although they kept the matter from the king, that the pope had, on the 18th July, resolved to admit of the cause being removed to Rome.

<sup>1</sup> The daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn (afterwards earl of Wiltshire), and niece of Thomas, third duke of Norfolk. She had resided in the French court, and had acquired there a light manner which was more agreeable to the king than the quiet piety of Katherine.

<sup>1</sup> It was negotiated by the aunt of the emperor and the mother of the king, and by it several of the articles of the treaty of Madrid (see p. 159) were mitigated. Henry assisted Francis with money on the occasion, and thus enabled him to ransom his two sons, who had been given as hostages when he had been himself released.

<sup>1</sup> He was born at Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire, in 1489, and was a member of Jesus College, Cambridge, but was then residing in the house of a gentleman near Waltham, where Gardiner, the king's secretary, rested for the night. Cranmer was employed to write in defence of the divorce, was sent on embassies concerning it, and at

opinion of the universities, "Do the laws of God allow a man to marry his brother's widow?" the hint is taken, and commissioners are dispatched to each university at home and abroad.

Cardinal Wolsey opens the court of Chancery, Oct. 9; on the same day the king's attorney prefers an indictment against him in the King's Bench for receiving bulls from Rome, in violation of the Statute of Provisors<sup>m</sup>. The great seal is taken from him, Oct. 17, and given to Sir Thomas More. The cardinal is ordered to leave his noble mansion of York Place (afterwards Whitehall), and retire to Esher, Oct. 17; judgment of forfeiture of goods and imprisonment is given against him in the King's Bench, Oct. 28.

Felons and murderers taking sanctuary ordered to be marked with a hot iron with the letter A on the thumb, and then abjure the realm, on pain of losing the benefit of sanctuary, [21 Hen. VIII. c. 2].

The parliament meets Nov. 3, and agrees to an address to the king, charging the cardinal with many great offences; his steward, Thomas Cromwell, defends him, and the king refuses to receive it<sup>n</sup>.

length, on Archbishop Wareham's death, was raised to the see of Canterbury. His conduct in that station, and his melancholy death, will be considered hereafter.

<sup>m</sup> See vol. i. p. 388.

<sup>n</sup> He had just before sent Wolsey a ring as a token of his favour, which occasioned the cardinal to address him from Esher, Nov. 2, in the following strain; the original letter is preserved in the State Paper Office.

"Most gracious and merciful Sovereign Lord, these shall be to give your royal Majesty my most lowly and humble thanks for the comfort which it hath pleased your Highness to send unto me, your poor priest and prostrate subject, languishing in extreme sorrow and heaviness, by your Grace's trusty servant, Sir John Russell; by whom

The king released from his debts by statute, [c. 24°].

A.D. 1530. The cardinal, who was believed to be dying, is comforted by kind messages from the king; he receives a general pardon, Feb. 12, the grant of the temporalities of his see of York, Feb. 17, and presents in money and plate. He retires to his see, and resides there discharging his episcopal duties till the end of October.

The opinions of various universities in favour of the divorce are forwarded to the pope, July 13. Cranmer goes with them, and offers to dispute with any opponent.

The cardinal is arrested for high treason by the earl of Northumberland, Nov. 4, and brought towards London, but falls sick, and dies at Leicester, Nov. 29.

Abjured persons ordered not to quit the realm, but instead to remain in some sanctuary for the remainder of their lives<sup>p</sup>, [22 Hen. VIII. c. 14].

I do perceive, to my inward consolation, that your Highness is, and will be, my good and gracious sovereign lord, and have pity, mercy, and compassion upon me; in the assured trust and confidence whereof I shall, as nigh as my fragility can permit, endeavour myself to quiet my poor heart, and in some part attemper my sorrow; praying God most effectually, for this your high goodness, to pursue, augment, and increase your most noble and royal estate; and that as soon as it shall seem to your pitiful heart and to stand with your Grace's honour, it may openly be known to my poor friends and servants, that your Highness hath forgiven me mine offence and trespass, and delivered me from the danger of your laws; for the attaining whereof I shall incessantly pray, cry, and call. Written this morning, with the rude and trembling hand of your Grace's most humble and prostrate subject and priest, T. Cai<sup>lls</sup> Ebor."

\* The reason given in the statute is that the king had employed his own funds as well as the taxes on his subjects in the defence of the Church and kingdom, and in establishing a general and universal peace among all Christian princes.

<sup>p</sup> The reason given is that many of these persons are men "fit and able for war," and that they have carried abroad the knowledge of archery, "to the no little damage and prejudice of the realm."

A.D. 1531. The penalties of *præmunire* held to be incurred by the clergy in submitting to the legatine authority of Cardinal Wolsey, remitted on the payment of £100,000 by the convocation of Canterbury, [22 Hen. VIII. c. 15]. The province of York had to pay a sum of £18,840 0s. 10d. for a like pardon<sup>a</sup>, [23 Hen. VIII. c. 19].

The opinions of various universities in favour of the king's divorce are laid before the parliament, March 30.

Poisoners ordered to be boiled to death<sup>r</sup>, [22 Hen. VIII. c. 9].

Egyptians (or gipsies) ordered to leave the realm within 15 days, under penalty of imprisonment and forfeiture of goods, [c. 10].

Beggars and vagabonds ordered to be whipped and set in the stocks<sup>s</sup>, [c. 12].

Gardiner and Bonner<sup>t</sup> are sent, together with Sir

<sup>a</sup> The grant of these sums was, by the king's especial command, accompanied by an acknowledgement that he was "the chief protector, the only and supreme lord, and, as far as the law of Christ will allow, the Supreme Head" of the Church.

<sup>r</sup> This act was occasioned by the crime of one Richard Rosse, cook to the bishop of Rochester, who mixed poison in a vessel containing yeast standing in the bishop's kitchen, and thereby occasioned the death of Bennet Curwen, one of the household, and Alice Trippett, a poor widow who came there for charity.

<sup>s</sup> The justices of the peace were allowed to give licences to "aged, poor and impotent persons" to solicit alms within certain determined districts; poor scholars unlicensed from their University, sailors pretending shipwreck, and fortune-tellers, were to be twice whipped, and to be set in the pillory for three hours and lose their ears for any further offence.

<sup>t</sup> Stephen Gardiner was born at Bury St. Edmund's, in 1483, and was educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, of which he afterwards became master. He acquired great reputation as a canonist, was made secretary of state, and became bishop of Winchester in 1531. He fully participated in all Henry's views, and even wrote a book "On True Obedience," in which he defended the separation from

Edward Brian, as ambassadors to the pope, but fail to bring about an accommodation.

A.D. 1532. Sir Thomas More resigns the chancellorship, May 16; he is succeeded, as lord keeper, by Sir Thomas Audley.

Undue citations by spiritual courts restrained by statute, [23 Hen. VIII. c. 9].

Rome. Yet he refused to associate himself with the proceedings of the advisers of Edward VI., and was in consequence deprived of his see and imprisoned in the Tower. Queen Mary released him, and for the short remainder of his life he was her chief adviser, dying Nov. 12, 1555.

Edmund Bonner was born of poor parents in Worcestershire, about 1496, and through the charity of a neighbouring gentleman was sent to Broadgates Hall, Oxford, whence he removed to Cardinal Wolsey's household. His forwardness and activity recommended him to the king, and he was employed in various embassies relating to the divorce, which he discharged with perhaps more firmness than courtesy. By the favour of Cromwell he was in 1535 made archdeacon of Leicester, in 1538 was appointed bishop of Hereford, but early in the next year, before consecration, was removed to London, which see he held until 1551, when, like Gardiner, he was deprived and imprisoned. Like him, he was reinstated by Mary, and became a very active instrument in the persecution which so unhappily marked her reign. Upon the accession of Elizabeth his life was endangered from the resentment of the populace; the oath of supremacy was tendered to him first of all the bishops (May 30, 1559); his refusal to take it was followed by his deprivation (June 20), and in April, 1560, apparently without any specific charge, he was sent to the Marshalsea, where he died Sept. 5, 1569, and was buried in a portion of the neighbouring churchyard of St. George, Southwark, appropriated to criminals.

The characters by which both these men are usually known are very odious, but they are drawn by their avowed enemies. Gardiner is known to have been a learned man, and an acute statesman; Bonner is not so distinguished. Both were busy, secular men, intent on their own advancement, and therefore but too ready to carry out the harsh modes of government which prevailed in their time. Their cruelty towards the reformers is doubtless greatly exaggerated, and it must not be forgotten that they had been treated hardly by Edward's ministers, and that when they again came into power they were irritated by probably unfounded attacks on their legitimacy, and by caustic reflections on their former subserviency to the impetuous Henry.

Henry advances Anne Boleyn to the dignity of marchioness of Pembroke, Sept.<sup>u</sup>

The king passes over to France, and has interviews with Francis, October.

A.D. 1533. Cranmer is appointed archbishop of Canterbury<sup>x</sup>.

He holds a court at Dunstable, and pronounces the marriage between the king and Katherine of Arragon null and void from the beginning, May 23; he also pronounces the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn good and lawful, May 28<sup>y</sup>.

The pope reverses the decision of Cranmer.

The king appeals from the judgment of the pope to a general council.

## THE REFORMATION.

A.D. 1534. An act passed for the punishment of heresy<sup>z</sup>, [25 Hen. VIII. c. 14].

<sup>u</sup> He afterwards married her privately, but the date is uncertain; the received statement is, in November, 1532; but a letter exists ascribed to Cranmer, which places it in Jan 1533.

<sup>x</sup> Archbishop Wareham, who had held the see nearly thirty years, died Aug. 23, 1532. Cranmer's appointment was by papal bull dated Feb. 21, 1533, and he was consecrated March 30. He took, as was then usual, an oath of obedience to the pope. but before he did so, he made a public protest, that he would not be bound by it to omit doing anything which in duty to God, the king and the realm, he was bound to do.

<sup>y</sup> These proceedings were a few days after communicated to Katherine; she solemnly protested against them, and refused the title of Princess Dowager and the offer of being treated as "the king's sister;" she was soon after removed, almost by force, from Ampt-hill, and at length was settled at Kimbolton, where she died.

<sup>z</sup> The statute of Henry IV. (see p. 17) was repealed as insufficient, and the statutes of Richard II. (see vol. i. p. 407) and Henry V. revived, as more efficacious; but speaking against the pope or his decrees was expressly declared not to be heresy.



The free importation of foreign printed books allowed by the statute of Richard III.<sup>a</sup> restrained<sup>b</sup> [c. 15.]

Cardinal Campegius and Jerome de Ghinucci deprived of their sees of Salisbury and Worcester, as aliens.

The clergy forbidden to make constitutions, except in convocation with the king's assent<sup>c</sup> [c. 19].

The payment of first-fruits to Rome forbidden<sup>d</sup>, [c. 20].

The papal power in England set aside by act of parliament, [c. 21].

This important act declares all payments to the Apostolic Chamber illegal; enacts that all "dispensations or licenses for things not contrary to the law of God, but only to the law of the land," shall in future be granted within the kingdom by the two archbishops; confirms the exemption of monasteries from episcopal visitation, but renders them liable to visitation by commissioners acting under the great seal for the king; offenders were to incur the penalties of the statutes of provisors and *præmunire*<sup>e</sup>.

Though the separation of the Church of England from that of Rome was formally accomplished in Henry's

<sup>a</sup> See p. 105.

<sup>b</sup> This was professedly for the benefit of English printers, but the real object was to prevent the circulation of books advocating Lutheran tenets.

<sup>c</sup> No canons were to be enforced which were contrary to the king's prerogative, nor was any appeal to Rome to be suffered; all appeals from the archiepiscopal courts were to be determined by the king's commissioners.

<sup>d</sup> Power had been granted to the king to suspend these payments early in the preceding year, [23 Hen. VIII. c. 20]; this was while the negotiations with Rome were pending; these being broken off, the payment was declared illegal, and the customary reference to Rome for the confirmation of bishops was done away with; and persons paying any regard to papal directions in the matter incurred the penalties of the statutes of *præmunire*.

<sup>e</sup> See vol. i. pp. 386, 413.

reign, it was in reality the effect of causes that had been in operation for centuries. The exactions of the papal court had been frequently withstood, and its assumption of supreme power resisted, long before the time of Wickliffe<sup>f</sup>, but from his days a succession of opponents of Rome, and of sufferers for religion, is readily to be traced. Wills occasionally occur without any provision for masses, an omission which betokens a disbelief of purgatory; a bishop was in the days of Henry VI. removed from office, whose opinions in many points resembled those of Wickliffe<sup>g</sup>; a partial visitation of monasteries under Henry VII. exposed many scandals<sup>h</sup>, and Wolsey set the example of their dissolution by the means which he employed to endow his Cardinal's College.

It is certain that in the time of the Tudors the clergy were unpopular with the other influential classes, though deservedly esteemed the friends of the humble. The nobility, who had been impoverished by the civil wars, envied the wealth of the Church, the property of which had been respected, and even augmented, during its con-

<sup>f</sup> See vol. i. pp. 306, 314, 322, 330, 358, 386, 388.

<sup>g</sup> This was Reginald Peacock, successively bishop of St. Asaph and of Chichester. He recommended the study of the Bible to the laity, approved of the marriage of the clergy, and censured ascetic observances. These opinions were condemned in a synod held at Lambeth in 1457, when he was deprived of his see, obliged to recant, and then retired to Thorney Abbey, Cambridgeshire, where he died.

<sup>h</sup> It was conducted by Archbishop Morton, by order of Pope Innocent VIII., and the abuses then discovered and reported to the pope afford a strong presumption that Henry's commissioners did not invent the enormities they charged on the monastics, which they have been accused of doing, though it may well be believed that they sought more anxiously to find them guilty than to prove them innocent.

fusions : the middle class was rising in importance, with the extension of commerce, and was desirous to humble a power such as that of the ecclesiastical courts, which was no doubt in some cases unwisely exercised, and thus clashed with the ordinary administration of the laws. One instance of this (the case of Richard Hunne<sup>1</sup>) revived the old disputes as to ecclesiastical immunities, and induced Henry VIII. to meditate on braving the power of Rome, which at the same time was threatened from another quarter (Germany<sup>k</sup>); he, however, had no sympathy with the Lutherans, but, on the contrary, received the title of "Defender of the Faith" for his writings against them, and when his breach with the pope actually occurred, he still retained those opinions which the Church of England rejects as distinctively Romish.

The Reformation was, indeed, far more a political than a religious movement with too many of its forwarders; it was a great work carried on by men actuated, in the main, by unworthy motives, such as love of power and greediness of riches, but by God's pro-

<sup>1</sup> Hunne was a citizen of London, who died in the bishop's prison, where he was confined on a charge of heretical opinions, for which he was condemned after death and his body burnt. He had rendered himself obnoxious to the clergy by a dispute about fees, and Dr. Horsey, the bishop's chancellor, was openly accused of his murder. After a vehement resistance on the part of the Convocation, Horsey was put on his trial, but an arrangement had been made, no evidence was offered against him, and he was acquitted. Dr. Standish, who had maintained that the clergy were amenable to the civil courts, was censured in Convocation, but supported, and his views adopted, by the king.

<sup>k</sup> The attack on the papacy abroad was led by Martin Luther, and some Englishmen (as Tindal and Coverdale, the translators of the Bible, Barnes and Cranmer) imbibed many of his views; but the foreign reformers had no influence with the government until the reign of Edward VI.

vidence overruled to good, and thus more a subject for reverent thankfulness than if the means appeared, humanly speaking, less unsuitable to the end.

The first steps of the change shew unmistakeably that it was the work, not of theologians, but of statesmen. The act which caused an irreconcilable breach with Rome [25 Hen. VIII. c. 21] was one which, avowedly leaving doctrinal matters untouched, assailed its pecuniary interests; and the visitations, the surrenders, and finally the suppression of the monasteries, were partly the result of resentment at the opposition of the monastics to the steps taken to obtain the divorce of Katherine of Arragon<sup>1</sup>, but much more of a resolve to deprive the firmest supporters of the papal power of their wealth and consequent influence. The Pilgrimage of Grace and other risings shewed that the monks had numerous friends, but were insufficient to stay the course of politic destruction, which also swept away by the thousand, chantries, and free chapels, and hospitals<sup>m</sup>, and was

<sup>1</sup> The Franciscans especially opposed the divorce, and one of their number (William or Peter Peto) in a sermon before the king likened him to Ahab, and prophesied a similar fate to him. Henry bore this apparently unmoved, but the friar thought it prudent to go abroad, and he was soon after attainted. He returned in the time of Mary, became her confessor, aided in restoring his convent, and died a cardinal and bishop of Salisbury in 1558.

<sup>m</sup> According to a calculation, which is believed at all events not to be in excess, 376 small houses (those estimated at less than £200 per annum,) were suppressed in 1536; 645 greater houses (twenty-nine of which entitled their heads to seats in parliament,) were surrendered or seized in 1539; 2,300 free chantries and chapels, and 110 hospitals, in 1545. The rents of their lands, their plate and jewels, amounted to a vast sum; and it was pretended, to make the confiscation palatable to the people, that the king would never more have to call on them for subsidies; so little was this the case, that subsidies and benevolences continued as heavy as ever; the king's debts were dishonestly remitted by the parliament, and both he and his two immediate successors died with an empty treasury.

even believed to threaten the universities and the parish churches<sup>n</sup>. A comparatively small portion of the spoils was devoted to the incongruous uses of the endowment of six new bishoprics<sup>o</sup>, and a college in each University, and the erection of castles for the defence of the coast<sup>p</sup>; but the great bulk was, with worldly wisdom<sup>q</sup>, distributed among a host of needy and rapacious adventurers, who, as Latimer<sup>r</sup> remarks, "had become gos-

<sup>n</sup> "God's law is turned 'upso downe,' abbeys and churches overthrown . . . and I think they will cast down parish churches and all, at the last." "The king will hang in hell one day for the plucking down of abbeys." "I fear that within a while the king will pull down parish churches." Such speeches as these, which doubtless represent the popular impression, are among the "most wicked and execrable words" imputed to Geoffrey Pole and other adherents of the cardinal, and punished as treason. See p. 188.

<sup>o</sup> Westminster, suppressed in 1550; and Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Oxford and Peterborough, which still exist. Canterbury and several other cathedral chapters were remodelled, but with no increase of revenue.

<sup>p</sup> The castles of Sandown, Deal, and Walmer, in Kent, Southsea, by Portsmouth, and Sandown, in the Isle of Wight, are among them; a few harbours were also improved; but these amounted to but a mere fraction of the spoil.

<sup>q</sup> To interest as many persons as possible in maintaining the new order of things, some were compelled to exchange their hereditary estates for Church lands. Lord Windsor was thus obliged to part with his stately mansion of Stanwell, and is said to have died of vexation shortly after.

<sup>r</sup> Hugh Latimer, the son of a yeoman in Leicestershire, was born in 1470, and was educated in Cambridge. He was at first a vehement opponent of the reformers, but being converted by the preaching of Thomas Bilney (afterwards a martyr), he maintained their doctrines from the pulpit of the university, and was thus exposed to persecution, but was secured from serious consequences by Cromwell, by whose favour he obtained the living of West Kingston, in Wiltshire. In 1535 he was appointed to the see of Worcester, but resigned it in 1539 on the passing of the Act of Six Articles, and was imprisoned for the remainder of Henry's reign. He was released on the accession of Edward VI., but declined to undertake again an episcopal charge, preferring instead to act as an itinerant preacher; and he thus powerfully contributed to fix the doctrines of the Reformation in the minds of the people. On the accession of Mary he was committed to prison, but after a time carried (with Cranmer and Ridley)

pellers for the abbey lands." These men ruthlessly destroyed many of the noblest edifices of the country merely to sell their materials, desecrated churches, or bartered them like merchandize, wantonly or ignorantly ruined valuable libraries, threw down tombs and obliterated monumental inscriptions, and cast out the bones of the great and good that they might gain a little further profit from their leaden coffins and their sepulchral brasses\*.

The merely political views of Henry and his confederates equally appear from the course of their dealing with the discipline and doctrine of the Church. A layman (Thomas Cromwell) was appointed "lord vicegerent in matters ecclesiastical," and under that title superseded many of the functions of the bishops, and controlled all the rest. Though Cranmer and some few others from the first doubtless had the desire to see the errors of Rome repudiated, as eventually came to pass, such was by no means the intention of the king. Cranmer gained from him permission to prepare a translation of the Bible, yet it was hardly completed, when its use was limited by Act of Parliament (34 Hen. VIII. c. 1), and attempts were made to supersede it by books drawn up in the king's name, which were asserted to contain "all necessary doctrine," but, except in matters avowedly levelled at the "usurped power of the Bishop of Rome," differed little from what had been

to Oxford to hold a public disputation, which was managed with manifest unfairness, was condemned as a heretic, and at length burnt, Oct. 16, 1555, being then 85 years of age.

\* The bones of King Stephen were torn from their resting-place and thrown into the sea, from this cause. See vol. i. p. 236.

formerly taught<sup>t</sup>. It was not until near the close of Henry's life that Cranmer was allowed to prepare a few prayers and a litany in English, and to commence an examination of the mass, but these were necessary steps to the great work of Edward's reign, the compilation of our Book of Common Prayer and administration of the Sacraments.

### IRELAND.

A.D. 1534. The earl of Kildare is summoned to England in February, and is soon after thrown into the Tower.

Although this imprisonment was owing to the complaints of his council, Kildare had yet sufficient influence to cause his son Thomas to be received as deputy, and he had also stored his castles with arms and ammunition. The young lord, who was known as Silken Thomas (from his customary rich attire and his courtly manners), no sooner heard of the imprisonment of his father than he formally resigned his office (June 11, 1534), and attempted to capture the castle of Dublin; but, failing in that, seized the archbishop of Dublin (John Allen) near Waterford, when fleeing to England for succour, and put him to death (July 28). Skeffington was now appointed

<sup>t</sup> The chief of these books were, a Primer, published in 1535, which was mainly an explanation of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed; a series of Articles, "devised by the king's highness to establish Christian quietness and unity among us" (1536); the Institution of a Christian Man, or the Bishops' Book (1537); and the Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, or the King's Book (1543). The Articles and the Institution agree in all essential points, but the Erudition inculcates many Romish dogmas which they had condemned.

deputy, having Lord Leonard Grey<sup>u</sup> as his marshal; Thomas was defeated and surrendered<sup>x</sup> (Aug. 1535); five of his uncles also were captured early in 1536, and being sent to England the whole six were hanged at Tyburn (Feb. 3, 1537), the old earl having long before died in the Tower (Dec. 12, 1534). The next heir, Gerald, a lad of twelve years of age at his father's death, after lurking about in the care of his tutor, Thomas Leverous<sup>y</sup>, for a time, escaped into France (March, 1540), was protected by his kinsman, Cardinal Pole, and eventually restored to his ancestral honours by Mary (May 14, 1554.) although his attainder was not reversed until the year 1569.

Skeffington died in office in 1537, and was succeeded by Lord Leonard Grey, who proclaimed the king's supremacy, suppressed monasteries, burnt the most venerated relics, and carried on the spoliation of the Church with a high hand; but, though in this he only acted up to his instructions, and also shewed vigour and address in contending with the rebels<sup>z</sup>, he was at last accused by

<sup>u</sup> Son of Thomas, marquis of Dorset, and uncle of Lady Jane Grey.

<sup>x</sup> His name is to be seen rudely cut on the wall of the Beauchamp Tower, in the Tower of London; and a letter of his remains in the State Paper Office, in which he requests his "trusty and well-beloved servant, John Rothe," to procure him the sum of £20 from O'Brien, with whom he had left his plate. "I never had any money since I came into prison," he says, "but one noble, nor hose, doublet, shoes, or shirt, but one.....and I have gone bare-foot and bare-legged divers times, when it hath not been very warm; and so I should have done still, and now, but that poor prisoners, of their gentleness, have sometimes given me old hose, and shoes, and old shirts."

<sup>y</sup> Afterwards dean of St. Patrick and bishop of Kildare, but expelled in the time of Elizabeth; he retired to Adair, near Limerick, and for many years supported himself by keeping a school, having Richard Creagh, the deprived archbishop of Armagh, for his usher.

<sup>z</sup> In the State Paper Office is a document containing a list of trea-



his council of being in league with them<sup>a</sup>, was recalled, imprisoned in the Tower, and at last beheaded, June 28, 1541.

A.D. 1534. The succession to the throne regulated by parliament, [25 Hen. VIII. c. 22]. The king's marriage with Katherine of Arragon was declared invalid<sup>b</sup>, and that with Anne Boleyn good; the penalties of treason (or of misprision of treason if the opposition was confined to words) being incurred by all who maintained the contrary<sup>c</sup>.

Elizabeth Barton, styled the Holy Maid of Kent, (who had uttered pretended revelations condemning the king's conduct,) is executed with several of her associates<sup>d</sup>, April 21. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, accused of having countenanced her, is committed to the Tower, and very harshly treated.

William, lord Dacre, warden of the west marches, is tried on a charge of treasonable correspondence with the Scots, but acquitted, July 9.

The first fruits and tenths of all benefices are granted to the crown<sup>e</sup>, [26 Hen. VIII. c. 3].

ties, twenty-seven in number, concluded by him with the native and Anglo-Irish chiefs, who confess their allegiance to the king, and promise, some money, but more military service.

<sup>a</sup> His sister was Kildare's second wife, and he was thought to have favoured the escape of the young Gerald.

<sup>b</sup> By another act of the same session [c. 28.] she was forbidden to be any more styled queen, but was to be called "the princess dowager."

<sup>c</sup> An oath in the sense of this statute was ordered to be taken by all persons, but as it contained also an acknowledgment of the king as supreme head of the Church, it was refused by Sir Thomas More, who was in consequence sent to the Tower.

<sup>d</sup> She and six of her abettors had been attainted, and Bishop Fisher and five others condemned to imprisonment for life by statute, [25 Hen. VIII. c. 12].

<sup>e</sup> By a subsequent statute [27 Hen. VIII. c. 42], the Universities

Many new offences made high treason, by the parliament, [c. 13].

Among these were attempting, or wishing, any bodily harm to the king or queen; denying any of their titles; slandering them as heretics; and the more palpable offence of attempting to keep possession of forts, ships, arms, &c. belonging to the king, when legally summoned to surrender them.

The king is empowered to appoint suffragan bishops<sup>f</sup>, [c. 14].

Bishop Fisher, Sir Thomas More, Thomas, earl of Kildare, and others, attainted, [cc. 22, 23, 25].

A.D. 1535. The king formally assumes the title of "on earth Supreme Head of the Church of England<sup>g</sup>," Jan. 15.

Houghton, Webster, and Laurens, priors of Carthusian houses, two priests and a monk, (Feron, Hale, and Reynolds,) are convicted of treason for speaking against the king's marriage and his supremacy, April 29.

Bishop Fisher (styled in the indictment late bishop of Rochester) and three Carthusians (Middlemore, Exmew, and Newdygate) are convicted for denying the king's

of Oxford and Cambridge were excused from these payments on condition of providing certain lecturers in Greek, Hebrew, &c.; and the colleges of Winchester and Eton, for the same exemption, were to celebrate obits for the king.

<sup>f</sup> The places for which they might be appointed are enumerated in the act; they amount to 26; viz., Bedford, Berwick, Bridgwater, Bristol, Cambridge, Colchester, Dover, St. German's, Gloucester, Grantham, Guildford, Hull, Huntingdon, Ipswich, Leicester, Marlborough, Nottingham, "Pereth," Penrith, Shaftesbury, Shrewsbury, Southampton, Southmolton, Taunton, Thetford, and the Isle of Wight.

<sup>g</sup> This was in virtue of stat. 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1, which declares the king "shall be taken, accepted and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia."

supremacy, June 11 and 17; and Sir Thomas More is condemned on a similar charge, July 1<sup>h</sup>.

Thomas Cromwell is appointed vicar-general with extensive power in ecclesiastical affairs. One of his first steps is a visitation of the monasteries.

James V. sails from Leith to Galloway with a powerful fleet, and reduces the turbulent insular clans to his obedience.

A.D. 1536. Queen Katherine dies at Kimbolton, Jan. 7.

Piracy ordered to be tried by the king's commissioners<sup>1</sup>, [27 Hen. VIII. c. 4].

Sanctuary men ordered to wear badges, and forbidden to carry weapons or to be out at nights, on pain of forfeiture of their privileges, [c. 19].

Vagabonds and sturdy beggars subjected to severe punishment; whipping for the first offence, loss of an ear for the second, and hanging for the third, [c. 25].

Wales incorporated into and united with England, [c. 26].

The statute provided that all persons born in Wales

<sup>1</sup> The offence of the bishop, Sir Thomas More, the priors and Reynolds, according to their indictments, consisted in openly saying, when in custody in the Tower, "The king, our sovereign lord, is not supreme head in earth of the Church of England." The priests uttered "execrable words" against the king, describing him as "the most cruellest, capital heretic, defacer and traitor under foot of Christ and of His Church," wished for his speedy death, and spoke of his marriage with "his wife of fornication, this matron Anne," as a matter of the highest shame and undoing to himself and all the realm. The ecclesiastics were executed at Tyburn, soon after; Bishop Fisher, June 22, and Sir Thomas More, July 6, on Tower hill.

<sup>2</sup> The reason given is, that the process in the Admiral's court, being according to the civil law, is intolerably expensive and tedious, and thereby favours the escape of malefactors. There is another statute on the same subject, [28 Hen. VIII. c. 15].

were to enjoy like liberties as those born in England; the English laws were to be extended to Wales, and all suits to be carried on in the English language; a chancery and an exchequer were to be established at Brecknock and Denbigh; lands were to descend according to English law, and Welsh laws and customs to be inquired into by a commission<sup>k</sup>.

The Court of Augmentations established for management of the revenues expected to be derived from the suppression of the monasteries, [c. 27]<sup>l</sup>.

All the smaller monasteries and nunneries (such, namely, as had less than £200 of yearly revenue) dissolved, and their effects granted to the crown, [c. 28.]

A code of ordinances for the government of Calais enacted, [c. 63].

The Protestant princes of Germany endeavour to induce the king to put himself at the head of their league.

The queen (Anne) is suddenly sent to the Tower, May 2; four of her alleged paramours (Sir Francis Weston, Brereton, Norris, and Smeaton<sup>m</sup>) are tried, May 12, and executed, May 17.

The queen and her brother, Lord Rochford, are tried, and pronounced guilty of adultery and incest, May 15; the queen's marriage with the king is set aside on the allegation of a pre-contract with Lord Henry Percy, May 17; she is executed within the Tower, May 19; Rochford had been executed May 17.

<sup>k</sup> The laws and customs of North Wales were excepted from this inquiry.

<sup>l</sup> The lands were so profusely granted away that this court soon became a nullity, and was abolished.

<sup>m</sup> Smeaton pleaded guilty to the charge of adultery, but denied the treason alleged against him; the others denied both charges.

The king marries Jane Seymour<sup>a</sup>, at Wolf-hall, near Chilton, in Wiltshire, May 20.

The Princess Mary is received into the king's favour, on acknowledging him as "supreme head in earth under Christ of the Church of England," and also confessing that her mother's marriage was justly set aside<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> She was the daughter of Sir John Seymour, a Wiltshire knight. Her brother Edward was created viscount Beauchamp on the occasion of her marriage, and earl of Hertford soon after, and an augmentation was granted to his family arms. He next received the appointment of lord chamberlain, but he was also made captain of Jersey, and was actively employed on several occasions both in Scotland and France, being often associated with Dudley, who finally brought him to the scaffold. Hertford succeeded the earl of Surrey as governor of Boulogne, was named by Henry VIII. one of his executors, and under his nephew Edward VI. he became protector, lord treasurer, earl marshal, and duke of Somerset. He did not, however, long hold these high offices; he was driven from the council and imprisoned, and though soon released, and apparently reconciled to Warwick (their children intermarried), the latter was resolved to destroy him, and the duke was beheaded on what appears to have been a false charge of conspiring against the life of his rival, Jan. 22, 1552. He had long been unpopular, from consenting to the execution of his brother (Lord Thomas Seymour), and for the rapacity he had shewn in gaining estates from the crown, as well as for building a stately palace in the Strand (Somerset-house) with the materials of churches pulled down for the purpose, although he professed himself a sincere follower of the doctrines of the Reformation, and his fall was little lamented. His duchess (to whose proud spirit was attributed his fatal quarrel with his brother) was imprisoned in the Tower, but was released by Mary on her accession, and lived until 1587.

<sup>o</sup> She wrote, by the advice and direction of Cromwell, letters to him expressing her deep penitence for having withstood his "most just and virtuous laws;" she was also obliged to confess that her mother's marriage was "incestuous and unlawful." These letters have been commented on as proofs of her insincerity, but the greatest blame must rest on the heartless parent who could extort such submissions from a daughter.



Arms of Seymour.

The succession to the throne is a second time regulated by act of parliament, [28 Hen. VIII. c. 7<sup>p</sup>].

A further act passed to extinguish the authority of the bishop of Rome, [c. 10], by which, refusing to make oath of the king's supremacy is again declared treason.

The king's successor empowered to set aside any laws that may be passed before he attains his 24th year, [c. 17.]

Lord Thomas Howard (son of the duke of Norfolk) and the lady Margaret Douglas (the king's niece) are sent to the Tower, in consequence of making a contract of marriage<sup>q</sup>, without permission, July.

Reginald Pole<sup>r</sup> publishes a book "De Unitate Eccle-

<sup>p</sup> By this act Anne Boleyn was attainted, her daughter bastardized, and the succession ascribed to the issue of Jane Seymour; the penalties of treason being incurred by all opposers.

<sup>q</sup> Lord Thomas died about a year after, and the lady was then released; she eventually married the earl of Lenox, and became the mother of Darnley.

<sup>r</sup> He was the younger brother of Lord Montacute, and grandson of George, duke of Clarence. He was born in the year 1500, and was educated at the king's expense both at Oxford and at Paris, very early received Church preferment, and was intended for the see of York, when it became vacant by the death of Wolsey. Pole, however, conscientiously expressed his dislike of the king's proceedings in the matter of the divorce, continued to reside abroad, and remained unconvinced by the arguments of Sampson and others who wrote books in support of Henry's views. He replied to Sampson with considerable asperity, and by some personal reflections gave mortal offence to Henry, who had him attainted, and, as he could not seize his person, put his mother and several members of his family to death for corresponding with him. Pole was now made a cardinal, and sent as papal nuncio into Flanders; he afterwards attended the Council of Trent, and on the death of Pope Paul IV. had the offer of succeeding him, but declined the dignity. On the accession of Mary his attainder was reversed, he came to England, where he effected a formal reconciliation of the kingdom with the Holy See, and was made archbishop of Canterbury. The cruelties of Mary's reign do not seem in any way imputable to Pole, although as papal legate the proceedings were often taken in his name; in fact, from his mildness, his conduct was displeasing at Rome, and he would have been removed from his office but for the personal favour of the queen, who refused to admit any other legate, although the person

siastica," in which he severely condemns the king's separation from Rome.

An insurrection breaks out in Lincolnshire, occasioned by the suppression of the smaller monasteries, September; the insurgents disperse, on promise of pardon, October.

The people of Yorkshire took up arms on the same account, shortly after. They styled their expedition the Pilgrimage of Grace, carried banners on which were depicted the five wounds of Christ, demanded the driving away of base-born councillors, the suppression of heresy, and the restitution of the goods of the Church. They were headed by Robert Aske, a gentleman of Doncaster, but were soon joined by the archbishop of York (Edward Lee), Lords Darcy, Latimer, Lumley, Scroop, Sir Thomas Percy and others, and seized York and Hull. The duke of Norfolk was despatched against them, but finding them too strong, he negotiated, and at length induced them to disperse before Christmas, by the offer of a general pardon, and the promise that a parliament should be held next year in the north, by which their grievances were to be redressed.

A.D. 1537. A fresh insurrection breaks out early in the year, in the north; also another in Somersetshire; both are promptly suppressed, and many executions follow. Lords Darcy and Hussey, Sir Robert Constable,

named was Friar Peto, her own confessor, and a man who had suffered many years' exile for advocating the cause of her mother, even to Henry's face. Pole died Nov. 18, 1558, and was buried in his cathedral, leaving behind him the character of a strictly conscientious man, of a mild, generous and tolerant spirit, and if not inclined (as some of his cotemporaries supposed) to Protestantism, yet anxious for the removal of known abuses from his Church.

The king wrote thus to the duke of Norfolk, Feb. 22, 1537: "We do right well approve and allow your proceedings in the dis-

Sir Francis Bigot, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir John Bulmer, Robert Aske, and others, are seized, tried, and executed, as are the abbots of Barlings, Fountains, and Jervaux (Matthew Mackerell, William Thriske, and Adam Sedlar<sup>t</sup>), Whalley, Woburn, and Sawley (John Paslew, John Hops, and William Trafford), and the prior of Bridlington (William Wood).

The queen (Jane) dies, Oct. 24.

The duke of Norfolk is recalled, and his place supplied by a board of commissioners styled the Council of the North<sup>u</sup>.

## IRELAND.

In 1537 Anthony St. Leger and three other English

playing of our banner. And forasmuch as the same is now spread and displayed, by reason whereof, till the same shall be closed again, the course of our laws must give place to the ordinances and statutes martial, our pleasure is, that before you close up our said banner again, you shall, in any wise, cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town, village and hamlet, that have offended in this rebellion, as well by the hanging of them up in trees, as by the quartering of them, and the setting of their heads and quarters in every town, great and small, and in all such other places, as they may be a fearful spectacle to all other hereafter that would practise any like matter: which we require you to do, without pity or respect, according to our former letters." The rebellion is imputed to the "solicitation and traitorous conspiracy of the monks and canons," and the duke is directed to visit Hexham, Sawley, Newminster, Lanercost, and other abbeys and priories, and to "cause all the monks and canons that be in any wise faulty, to be tied up, without further delay or ceremony, to the terrible example of others; wherein we think you shall do unto us high service."

<sup>t</sup> His name is so spelled in the indictment against him (May 17, 1537), but there remains an inscription in the Beauchamp Tower which reads "ADAM: SEDBAR ABBAS: JOREVALL 1537."

<sup>u</sup> This council had a Lord President, whose residence was usually at York; it continued until the time of Charles I.



gentlemen were sent as a commission of inquiry to Ireland.

Beside endeavouring to obtain a subsidy to reimburse the king's charges in repressing the rebellion of the Fitzgeralds, the commissioners were directed to examine the conduct of the deputy (Lord Leonard Grey) and his council<sup>\*</sup>, and, preparatory to introducing the king's laws in every part, to report on the exactions and oppressions of the great landholders. Accordingly they held inquests in various places, both in the pale and the so-called English districts, and their reports, preserved in the State Paper Office<sup>†</sup>, fully justify the complaints of the writer of the paper of 1515 already referred to<sup>‡</sup>.

The customary feudal burdens, which pressed heavily on their brethren in England, were almost entirely evaded by the Anglo-Irish nobles. One (the earl of Desmond) maintained that he was legally exempt from attendance in parliament, and the others only obeyed the king's deputy's summons, either in war or peace, when it pleased themselves; they, however, when sum-

<sup>\*</sup> In a letter, dated Feb. 25, 1537, announcing the appointment of this commission, the king charges them with wasting his revenue, or applying it to their own purposes. The council, in answer, deny the charges, and say to Cromwell, "Would to God his majesty and your lordship did know our gains and riches, which is so great, that we, of the mean sort of this council, being his grace's officers, amongst us all be not worth in money and plate £1000 Irish, which is a small substance for us all, being in the rooms that we be under his grace. We be no purchasers of possessions, builders, dicers, no carders, neither yet pompous householders, whereby we should consume our profits and gains, if we had them. Wherefore we most humbly beseech your good lordship to be mean to his grace to accept us, being poor men, as his true and faithful subjects."

<sup>†</sup> A summary of them will be found in the State Papers of Henry VIII. Part II. p. 510–512, *note*.

<sup>‡</sup> See p. 147.

moned, regularly assessed their presumed expenses on their tenantry, whether they moved from their castles or not.

The lords usually would not suffer the king's courts to be held within their districts, and they heavily fined their tenants if they repaired for justice to the walled towns, where the burgesses kept themselves in some measure, though not entirely, free from their exactions. They instead upheld the Brehon law, which was more profitable to themselves, as, according to that system, murders, manslaughters, and other violences were atoned for by a fine, called *herick*, and theft by another, termed *canne*; but these sums, which varied with the supposed wealth of the offender, were never given to the injured parties<sup>a</sup>; they were either taken by the lord, or shared between him and his brehon, or judge. In all suits of a civil nature, a large sum (*oylegeag*) was payable by each party to the brehon; and another, at least as large (*bieng*), was necessary as a bribe for the lord's favour<sup>b</sup>.

The recognised rent of each ploughland was one bushel of *summer oats*, but this was usually increased tenfold, and sums of money in addition (*byerahe*) were exacted quarterly. The husbandman's produce was taken from him at the lord's own price<sup>c</sup>, unless he redeemed it by a fine; a tribute of milk was exacted for each of his

<sup>a</sup> It was otherwise among our Saxon forefathers (see vol. i. p. 164); but these lordly plunderers knew no law but their own pleasure and profit.

<sup>b</sup> These two payments amounted in general to one-fifth of the value of the claim from each party.

<sup>c</sup> And also at the lord's own measure: one noble (William Birmingham) is mentioned as taking things at the rate of 16 quarts to the gallon.

cows; he had to furnish annually for each ploughland a week's labour in strengthening the ditches and fences, and two days' work of an axeman to fell timber; he had to supply carts and cattle for conveying the goods and chattels and building materials of the lord, and the plunder of his armed followers; yet these afforded him so little protection<sup>d</sup> that he was also obliged to pay *black rent* to the neighbouring Irish chiefs; and if his corn or cattle were carried off and recovered, the lord appropriated it to himself<sup>e</sup>.

But the greatest grievance of all was the exaction called *coin and livery*, which in numberless documents is emphatically stated to be "the cause why the land be so Irish and so poor." This consisted in the exaction of meat, drink, and lodging, for three or four nights at a time, and a sum of money beside, for the support of the soldiery of each chief; and it was as frequently practised by the king's deputies as any of the rest<sup>f</sup>. It was very common also to demand quarters for a larger number than were actually present (*black men*), any demur as to which was punished by a fine of a cow (*kyntroisk*); and if any tenant escaped such quartering for a while, he was made to pay heavily for the exemption. Every birth, marriage, or death in the lord's family occasioned the

<sup>d</sup> The king's castles are stated to have all fallen to ruin, and those of the marchers were mere receptacles of plunder; the marchmen were looked on as worse enemies than the "mere Irish" to those who had anything to lose.

<sup>e</sup> Lady Katherine Poer improved on this; she not only kept the property recovered by her soldiers, but levied a fine on the husbandman for his negligence in losing it.

<sup>f</sup> The deputies are charged beside with levying money for roads, journeys, and hostings (expeditions of various magnitude against the "wild Irish"), and applying it to their own use.

demand of a sheep from each husbandman, and a cow from each village; money was levied (*srahe*) for the expenses of journeys, never undertaken, to Dublin or to England. Forced contributions of food and money (*foy and pay*, and *mertyeght*,) relieved the lord from all expenditure of his own when he had guests; when he hunted, his dogs were regaled with bread and milk, or butter; and whole quarters of oats were demanded when most scarce, for his "great horse," and a composition in money exacted. The Anglo-Saxon king claimed the labour of his freemen to build his residence<sup>§</sup>; but the Irish noble exacted *mustrons* for the keep of all his various craftsmen, from masons to tailors; he, however, seldom lived at home, but passed his time in periodical visits, with an unlimited retinue, to his tenants, when meat, drink, lodging, candle, and a present at parting had to be provided. Four such visits to pass the night (called *cody*, or *cosher*), were usually bestowed on each husbandman, while more occasional visits were often paid for the express purpose of ruining ("eating up") an obnoxious inferior.

Burdensome as these exactions were, matters were rendered still worse by the insolence and rapacity of the assessors, or harbingers, as they were termed, who seized far more than they accounted for to their lords, unless conciliated by a payment of *black money* to themselves.

Neglect of duty and disorderly life is in many instances alleged against the clergy, as well as the taking of exorbitant fees on causes in the spiritual courts. One exac-

<sup>§</sup> See vol. i. p. 165.

tion much complained of was *portion canon*, a sum of variable, but heavy amount levied on the death of a man or his wife, in addition to the ordinary mortuary fees.

St. Leger, the chief commissioner, became deputy, in 1540, but does not seem to have remedied any of the abuses that he has recorded; and the country continued in much the same state during the remainder of this and the two succeeding reigns.

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A.D. 1538. The king enters into a negotiation with the Protestant princes, for a league against the emperor, but it is broken off, through the dissimilarity of their religious views<sup>h</sup>.

The emperor and the king of France agree to a ten years' truce, June 28; the pope (Paul III.) publishes a bull (Dec. 17) excommunicating and deposing Henry, and endeavours, but in vain, to induce them to endeavour to put it in execution<sup>i</sup>.

Cromwell issues Injunctions to the clergy, one article of which directs the setting up of the Bible in English<sup>k</sup> in each church, and another orders the keeping of a register of births, deaths, and marriages<sup>l</sup>, September.

<sup>h</sup> A deputation of their divines came to England, but they could not agree with the king, who quarrelled with nothing papal except the supremacy.

<sup>i</sup> The document is dated Aug. 31, 1535, but its publication had hitherto been withheld in the hope of an accommodation.

<sup>k</sup> This was most probably Coverdale's translation, which had just appeared with a dedication to the king. It was speedily followed by another translation, known as Matthews's, permission to circulate which was sought by Cranmer, in a letter to Cromwell, Aug. 4, 1537, "until such time that we the bishops shall set forth a better translation, which I think," he says, "will not be until a day after doomsday."

<sup>l</sup> This direction occasioned great discontent among the people, as they conceived the register was intended as the instrument of some new taxation.

Becket's shrine, and many similar objects of pilgrimage, plundered and destroyed.

The king assists at a public disputation on the corporal presence in the eucharist, which dogma he maintains against John Nicholson (or Lambert), a school-master<sup>m</sup>, November.

Many of the relatives and friends of Cardinal Pole<sup>n</sup> are accused of treason, and executed; and his mother, Margaret, countess of Salisbury, is imprisoned in the Tower.

A.D. 1539. The parliament meets, April 28, when the countess of Salisbury and several other persons in custody are attainted without trial.

The king's proclamations declared as valid as acts of parliament, [31 Hen. VIII. c. 8<sup>o</sup>].

<sup>m</sup> Lambert was silenced, and refusing to retract his opinions, was burnt shortly after.

<sup>n</sup> His brothers, Henry, lord Montacute, and Sir Geoffrey Poie, Henry, marquis of Exeter, Sir Edward Neville, Crofts and Collins, priests, and Holland, a mariner, were convicted on charges of corresponding with him, denying the king's supremacy, and further expressing their opinion that "knaves ruled about the king," and that Henry himself was "a beast, and worse than a beast." Sir Nicholas Carew was soon after convicted for holding discourses about "a change in the world" with the marquis of Exeter. Geoffrey Pole's life was spared, but the others were all executed, (Jan. 9, Mar. 3, 1539). It is usually said that he bore witness against his brother, who was convicted the day before he himself was tried. He passed the remainder of his days in prison, and, as appears from an inscription in the Beauchamp Tower, was alive as late as 1562.

<sup>o</sup> Persons offending against this act were to be judged by a larger number of the council than could be conveniently assembled, and therefore in 1544 another act was passed [34 & 35 Hen. VIII. c. 23], giving authority to a much smaller number to decide. One of the most remarkable of these proclamations is that dated Nov. 16, 1538, which stigmatizes Thomas à Becket as a traitor, and forbids his being any longer received as a saint; the plunder and destruction of his rich shrine at Canterbury had been effected not long before.

The king empowered to erect bishops' sees and appoint bishops by his letters patent, [c. 9].

The place of peers in parliament determined by statute, [c. 10].

All monasteries dissolved and granted to the king<sup>p</sup>, [c. 13].

An act passed "for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning Christian religion," [c. 14.]

Such was the title given to a merciless statute, better known as the Statute of the Six Articles, the passing of which proved a great discouragement to Cranmer and other sincere friends of the Reformation. Transubstantiation, communion in one kind, vows of chastity, private masses, celibacy of the clergy, and auricular confession, were asserted to be agreeable to the law of God; the denial of the first was to be punished as heresy, the rest as felony. Commissioners were appointed to carry the act into execution, but the number of offenders was found so great (500 were apprehended in London alone, in a short time, principally for denying the real presence) that the Romish party became alarmed, and ventured to enforce its penalties but in few instances.

Shaxton and Latimer, bishops of Salisbury and Worcester, resign their sees into the king's hands, July 1; they are both committed to prison as "sacramentarian heretics."

Several castles built on the sea-coast with the spoils

<sup>p</sup> Many had already been surrendered, but the abbots and monks, having only life interests therein, had exceeded their power in so doing; this act was therefore necessary to the legal security of the grantees or purchasers of the spoil.

of the monasteries, an apprehension being entertained of an invasion to put in execution the papal bull.

The abbots of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester, (Richard Whiting, Hugh Feringdon, and John Beche,) executed as traitors<sup>q</sup>, Nov. 14, Dec. 1.

A.D. 1540. The king, at the instigation of Cromwell, marries Anne of Cleves<sup>r</sup>, Jan. 6.

Wills regulated by statute [32 Hen. VIII. c. 1].

Sanctuaries regulated, their number, and the number of inmates, limited [c. 12].

A navigation act passed, by which freight is regulated, [c. 14].

The order of St. John of Jerusalem suppressed<sup>s</sup>, [c. 24].

Three anabaptists burnt in Southwark, April 29.

Cromwell is accused of treason at the council-board, by the duke of Norfolk, and committed to the Tower, June 10; he is attainted by act of parliament, June 29, and beheaded, July 28.

The Convocation is empowered by commission to try the validity of the king's last marriage, July 6; it is

<sup>q</sup> They were charged with denying the king's supremacy, and also with sending assistance to the insurgents in 1537, but their real offence seems to have been their steady refusal to surrender their houses.

<sup>r</sup> The daughter of John III., duke of Cleves.

<sup>s</sup> The statute states that certain members of the order upheld the pope's usurped power, and slandered the king and his councillors. Its possessions were seized, but considerable pensions were allowed to Sir William Weston and Sir John Rawlins, its heads, on condition of dropping their titles of lord prior and prior of Kilmainham; members who were abroad were offered pensions if they returned, but were to have nothing if they remained out of the king's obedience. Rawson was made Viscount Clontarf, and lived into the reign of Edward VI., but Weston died on the very day that he was obliged to leave his priory.



pronounced invalid, July 10, and abrogated by parliament, July 24<sup>t</sup>, [c. 25].

The king marries Katherine Howard, the niece of the duke of Norfolk, at Oatlands, July 28.

Barnes, Gerard, and Jerome, burnt as heretics, and Abel, Fetherstone, and Powell, executed at the same time, in Smithfield, as traitors<sup>u</sup>, July 30.

Laurence Cook<sup>x</sup>, prior of Doncaster, Horne, a lay brother of the Charter House, Bronholme, a priest, and four gentlemen, executed together at Tyburn, for denying the royal supremacy, Aug. 4.

The Privy Council Register commences, Aug. 18. A second secretary of state is appointed about the same time.

A.D. 1541. The countess of Salisbury is beheaded<sup>y</sup>, May 27.

Lord Dacre of the South (Thomas Fiennes) tried and convicted of murder<sup>z</sup>, June 27.

<sup>†</sup> Anne of Cleves formally consented to the terms of separation, July 11; she continued to reside in England until her death, which occurred at Chelsea, July 17, 1557; she was buried at Westminster with much pomp, Aug. 4. Her will shews great consideration for her servants, and gives a very favourable impression of her character.

<sup>‡</sup> The whole of these sufferers were clergymen of the universities, estimable for their learning and the purity of their lives. Abel had been chaplain to Katherine of Arragon, and he and his two companions were condemned for affirming the legality of her marriage. Abel was confined in the Beauchamp Tower, where his inscription (THOMAS and "A" on a bell) still remains.

<sup>§</sup> He also was imprisoned in the Beauchamp Tower, as is evidenced by his inscription "DOCTOR COOK : 1540."

<sup>||</sup> The charge against her was that she had favoured the rising called the Pilgrimage of Grace, and had since corresponded with her son, Cardinal Pole.

<sup>¶</sup> He had, in company with some wild companions, forcibly entered the park of Nicholas Pelham, at Laughton, in Sussex, with

Lord Leonard Grey, late deputy of Ireland, is executed, June 28.

Sir David Genson, a knight of St. John, is hanged for denying the king's supremacy, July 1; a Welsh minstrel is executed on the same day, for singing a "prophecy" against the king.

The king makes a progress in the north, and receives large sums of money from the parties to the recent insurrections.

The Scots make an inroad, and ravage Northumberland.

The queen (Katherine Howard) is charged with impure living, and sent to the Tower, in November; two of her paramours, Culpeper and Dereham, are tried Dec. 1, and executed Dec. 10; Lord William Howard and several other persons are tried and convicted of concealing her unchaste life, Dec. 22.

A.D. 1542. A bill of attainder against the queen and her confederates is brought into parliament Jan. 21, and receives the royal assent, at the request of the Houses, very shortly after, [33 Hen. VIII. c. 21.]

Offences committed in the king's palace ordered to be tried by a jury of the royal household, [c. 12].

The diocese of Chester and the Isle of Man transferred from the province of Canterbury to that of York, [c. 31].

dogs and nets for the purpose of hunting; they were opposed in their "traitorous intention" by three keepers, one of whom (John Bushbridge) was mortally wounded in the scuffle, April 30, 1541. Lord Dacre, after a part of the evidence had been heard, pleaded guilty, and threw himself on the king's mercy; he was nevertheless executed, June 29.

The king takes the title of King of Ireland, instead of Lord<sup>a</sup>, Jan. 23.

Several of the Irish chieftains are made peers of parliament<sup>b</sup>.

The queen is examined by the archbishop of Canterbury, and confesses the looseness of her life; she is executed, with Lady Rochford, Feb. 12.



Arms of the Kingdom of Ireland.

## SCOTLAND.

A.D. 1542. The Scots and the English make several devastating inroads, in one of which Sir Robert Bowes, the warden of the east marches, is taken prisoner, at Halydon-rigg, Aug. 24.

The duke of Norfolk burns Kelso, but shortly after retires to Berwick.

James sends an army to invade Cumberland; from hatred of the general (Oliver Sinclair, a court favourite), they disband, on the banks of the Esk, the nobles and gentry giving themselves up prisoners, Nov. 25.

<sup>a</sup> This had been advised by the deputy and council of Ireland some years before, at the beginning of his differences with the pope, who was still generally regarded as the feudal superior of the land, as he had been ages before (see an instance of this, vol. i. p. 370). The change was confirmed in 1544, by act of parliament, [35 Hen. VIII. c. 8].

<sup>b</sup> The title of Lord Carbery was conferred on William Bermingham, June 17, 1541; Con O'Neal and his son Matthew were created earl of Tyrone and Lord Dungannon, Oct. 1, 1542; Morogh O'Brien was made earl of Thomond, Ulick Burke, earl of Clanrickard, and Donogh O'Brien, Lord Ibracken, July 1, 1543.

James dies at Falkland, Dec. 14; he is succeeded by his infant daughter, Mary, under the guardianship of her mother, Mary of Guise.

The chief adviser of James had long been Cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, and the first place in the council of regency was assigned to him by the will of the king. This was set aside by the parliament, and the earl of Arran<sup>c</sup>, the presumptive heir to the throne, placed at the head of affairs (Jan. 10, 1543); Beaton was imprisoned for a while (Jan. 26 to April 10), but Arran, being a weak man, soon became the mere tool of the cardinal, who, in concert with the queen-mother, cultivated a close alliance with France, and procured the rejection of an offer to unite the two kingdoms of England and Scotland by the marriage of the infant queen to Edward, the son of Henry. He also laboured strenuously to repress the spirit of reformation which had long existed in Scotland<sup>d</sup>, but had begun to exert itself more boldly of late years in consequence of the destruction of the papal power in England. Among other victims, he seized and put to death George Wishart, the most prominent of the reformed preachers, but was himself assassinated in his castle of St. Andrew's, very shortly after, (May 28, 1546,) and the power of the Church in Scotland fell with him.

The queen-mother, though of the family of Guise, from political reasons for a while favoured the holders of the reformed doctrines; but when, having accomplished

<sup>c</sup> James Hamilton, great grandson of James II.

<sup>d</sup> A Lollard preacher (John Risby) was burnt in Scotland, in 1407; and a statute for the punishment of "heretics and Lollards" was passed in 1425.

her projects of securing the regency to herself and the marriage of her daughter to the heir of the French crown, she wished to retrace her steps and rule by the aid of French mercenaries, she found it impossible to do so. The reformers, styling themselves "the Congregation of the Lord," flew to arms; they sought succour from England, and a fierce war ensued. At length the queen's party was crushed, she herself died of grief in the castle of Edinburgh, where she was more of a prisoner than a ruler, and Leith, the last stronghold of the Romanists, was surrendered.

At the very outbreak of the war, the reformers, incited by the fierce invectives of Knox<sup>e</sup>, Erskine and others, against the clergy, had thrown down churches and monasteries far more recklessly than had been done in England. Being now triumphant, a parliament in 1561 not only set up a new form of Church polity, on the

\* John Knox was born near Haddington in 1505; he studied at St. Andrew's, and very early attained to great proficiency in scholastic theology. He discharged for a while the duties of a Romish priest, but his opinions were shaken by the preaching of Williams, a Dominican, who as early as 1540 ventured to inveigh against the papal authority. Knox afterwards became the friend of Wishart, and only escaped his fate by concealing himself. On Cardinal Beaton's death, Knox joined the party which held the castle of St. Andrew's, preached the doctrines of the Reformation under their protection, was captured with them, and carried to France, where he was condemned to the galleys. He was released after a time, and came to England, where he became a licensed preacher, but on the accession of Mary he went abroad, and associated himself with Calvin. He returned to Scotland in 1555, embroiled himself with the bishops, and was burnt in effigy; he again went to Geneva, where he wrote a vehement attack on "the monstrous regiment of women," directed against Mary, but remembered to his disadvantage by Elizabeth. Knox had a great share in preparing the Geneva Bible, and returning to Scotland in 1561, he took a leading part in the events of the next few years, which witnessed the ruin of his queen, the expulsion of the bishops, and the destruction of the churches. He died Nov. 24, 1572.

Genevan model, in which bishops were replaced by "superintendents," but confirmed the almost total confiscation of the Church property which private rapacity had already accomplished<sup>f</sup>, and committed the entire destruction of abbey churches, hospitals and other religious and charitable foundations to the heads of the party, as a "most holy, just, and necessary work<sup>g</sup>."

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A.D. 1543. The parliament meets Jan. 22, and sits till May 12.

An act "for the advancement of true religion" passed<sup>h</sup>, [34 & 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1].

Wales divided into twelve counties, [c. 2]. By this act a president and council are appointed for Wales; also justices of the peace, with power to hold sessions as in England.

A code of ordinances drawn up for Wales, [c. 26].

The king releases the chief Scottish prisoners, on condition of their endeavouring to procure a marriage between his son and their infant queen; their proposal is favourably received in Scotland, and a treaty on the subject is concluded, July 1.

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<sup>f</sup> The reformed preachers thus found themselves without a maintenance; their urgent demands procured a grant of one-third of the Church revenues, but this pittance was irregularly paid.

<sup>g</sup> "Throw down their nests, and the crows will take flight," was the exhortation of Knox; and it was responded to by the destruction of the stateliest edifices of the land. Neither tombs nor libraries were spared. "In a word," says Spotiswode, "all was ruined."

<sup>h</sup> The liberty formerly granted of reading the Bible was abridged by this act; and the King's Book was shortly after published, as containing all that the laity needed of Christian doctrine; the clergy, it was allowed, were bound to "search the Scriptures."

The king makes a treaty with the emperor, Feb. 11, and prepares for a war against France.

The king marries his sixth queen (Katherine Parr<sup>1</sup>), in July.

The queen-mother of Scotland and Cardinal Beaton gain over the earl of Arran to their party, and endeavour to set aside the marriage treaty; the king in return ravages their borders, and seizes Scottish ships.

The Scots form a new alliance with France, and declare the treaty with England null and void, Dec. 11.

The council of Trent, called professedly for the reformation of manners and discipline, but really directed against the Reformation, holds its first session, December 13.

A.D. 1544. The succession to the throne a third time regulated, under the penalties of treason, [35 Hen. VIII. c. 1].

The king's style set forth both in Latin and English<sup>k</sup>, it being treason to object to it, [c. 3].

An English army and fleet, under the earl of Hertford and Lord Lisle<sup>l</sup>, capture and burn Edinburgh and Leith, and devastate the surrounding country, in May.

<sup>1</sup> Such is the name she is usually known by, but it is her maiden name; she had been married twice before, and was then the widow of Lord Latimer. Her brother, William Parr, was created marquis of Northampton; he was a man of bad character, who complied with every change of religion and government, and held office in all circumstances. He died in 1571.

<sup>k</sup> It is worded thus in the original act:—"Henricus Octavus Dei gratia Anglie Frauncie et Hibernie Rex, fidei defensor et in terra Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice supremum caput;" and "Henry the Eight, by the grace of God Kyng of Englonde Fraunce and Irelande Defendor of the faithe, and of the Church of Englonde, and also of Irelande in earthe the supreme Hedde."

<sup>l</sup> Afterwards the Protector Somerset, and his rival Dudley, duke of Northumberland.

The wages of members of parliament settled at 4*s.* a-day for knights of the shire, and 2*s.* a-day for burgesses, [c. 11].

The king's debts remitted, and any sums that he had paid ordered to be returned to him, [c. 12].

The earl of Lenox<sup>m</sup> makes a treaty with the king, engaging to forward his views on Scotland, May 17; in return he receives the hand of Lady Margaret Douglas, the king's niece.

The king invades France, in July; he besieges Boulogne, which surrenders Sept. 14.

The emperor and the king of France suddenly conclude a peace, Sept. 19, when the English army is obliged to withdraw; the king returns to England, Sept. 30.

A.D. 1545. The French make several unsuccessful attempts to retake Boulogne; they are foiled by the earl of Hertford and Lord Lisle.

The king raises a large sum by a "benevolence," which is very unwillingly paid<sup>n</sup>.

The French fleet attempts to invade England; they have an indecisive action off Portsmouth with the English ships, July 18.

The French ravage the marches of Calais, and also send assistance to the Scots.

The earl of Hertford overruns and plunders the south of Scotland.

<sup>m</sup> Matthew Stuart; he was, like the regent Arran, descended from James II.

<sup>n</sup> Richard Read, a London alderman, declining to contribute, was sent as a common soldier to the army in Scotland, where he was taken prisoner at Jedworth.



All colleges, chantries and hospitals dissolved and granted to the crown<sup>o</sup>, [37 Hen. VIII. c. 4].

A law made against usury, which limited interest to 10 per cent., [c. 9].

Persons dispensing slanderous libels declared guilty of felony, [c. 10].

Tithes in London fixed at the rate of 2*s.* 9*d.* in the £1 on rent, [c. 12].

Laymen empowered to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction<sup>p</sup>, [c. 17].

A.D. 1546. The French continue their efforts to retake Boulogne. The earl of Surrey, the governor, being defeated, is recalled to England; he gives vent to his resentment in violent speeches, which are reported to the king.

Cardinal Beaton is killed, in his castle of St. Andrew's<sup>q</sup>, May 28.

<sup>o</sup> From the terms employed, the universities considered themselves in danger, but Henry condescended to assure them of safety.

<sup>p</sup> The occasion of this act was that papal decrees denounced excommunication against laymen who ventured to judge in ecclesiastical causes, as marriages and wills.

<sup>q</sup> The murder had been proposed by Lord Cassilis a year before, and was sanctioned by Henry, though he declined to appear openly in it: a fact established by a letter of the English council to Lord Hertford, dated May 30, 1545, to be found in the State Papers of Henry VIII., vol. v. p. 449. In the same collection is a letter (p. 560) giving the particulars of the murder. The party consisted of Norman Leslie, James Melvin, and 15 others: they first killed the porter and threw his body into the ditch, then drove out the workmen and servants; the cardinal, hearing the tumult, came from his chamber to the blockhouse, and was there killed. "The common bell of the town rang, the provost and town gathered, to the number of 300 or 400 men, and came to the castle, when Norman Leslie and his company came to the wall-head, and asked what they desired to see—a dead man? Incontinent they brought the cardinal dead to the wall-head, in a pair of sheets, and hung him over the wall by the one arm and the one foot, and bade the people see there their God. This

A peace is concluded with France, June 7; it provides for the restoration of Boulogne in eight years, and also for a peace with the Scots.

Christ Church, Oxford<sup>r</sup>, and Trinity College, Cambridge, founded by the king<sup>s</sup>.

The duke of Norfolk<sup>t</sup> and the earl of Surrey are committed to the Tower, Dec. 7.

John of Douglas of Edinburgh . . . shewed me . . . who was in St. Andrew's, and saw the same with his own eyes."

The castle was held for some time by Norman Leslie and his party, who were in the pay of Henry; at length it was captured by a body of French troops, and destroyed, as having been polluted by the blood of a cardinal.

\* In 1524 Cardinal Wolsey had obtained permission to convert the priory of St. Frideswide into a seminary, which he styled Cardinal College; this came into the king's hands on the fall of the founder, and was re-established as King Henry's College, Sept. 27, 1532; fourteen years after it was more fully endowed, and the name again changed to its present one.

\* To form this college several smaller halls were added to King's Hall, founded by Edward III. in 1346; Queen Mary was also a benefactor.



Arms of Christ Church, Oxford.

† "If a man coming of the collateral line to the heir of the crown, who ought not to bear the arms of England but on the second quarter, with the difference of their ancestor, do presume to change his right place, and bear them in the first quarter, leaving out the true difference of the ancestry, and, in the lieu thereof, use the very place only of the heir male apparent, how this man's intent is to be judged; and whether this import any danger, peril, or slander to the title of the prince, or very heir apparent; and how it weigheth in our laws." Such is the first sentence of a remarkable paper of charges against the duke, drawn up apparently for the opinion of the judges, and corrected in many places by the king himself, preserved in the State Paper Office. Others relate to "presuming to take an old coat of the crown" (the arms of Edward the Confessor; see vol. i. p. 136), "which his ancestor never bare, nor he of right ought to bear;" giving arms to strangers; holding pleas, and exercising free warren in his grounds, without license; "depraving of the king's council;" "compassing to govern the realm;" and, which seems to shew that the jealousy of the Seymours had inspired these

A.D. 1547. The earl of Surrey is tried and convicted of high treason<sup>u</sup>, Jan. 13 ; he is beheaded, Jan. 19.

The duke of Norfolk is attainted by act of parliament, to which the royal assent is given by commission ; Jan. 27<sup>x</sup>.

The king dies at Westminster, Jan. 28 ; he is buried at Windsor, Feb. 16.

proceedings, there is a charge against the earl of Surrey of saying, "If the king die, who should have the rule of the prince, but my father or I?"

"The charge against him was that, "machinating to extinguish the cordial love which the king's lieges bore to him, and to deprive him of his crown and dignity, he had set up, joined to his proper bearings, the arms of Edward the Confessor, 'Azure, a cross fleury between five martlets gold,' which belonged to the king in right of his kingdom, and might not be borne by any subject."

His life was saved by the death of the king early on the following morning, but he was imprisoned in the Tower until the accession of Mary.



Arms of Edward the Confessor.



Edward VI., from his Great Seal.



Arms of Edward VI.

## EDWARD VI.

EDWARD, the only son of Henry VIII. by Jane Seymour, was born at Hampton Court, Oct. 12, 1537. He succeeded to the throne Jan. 28, 1547, and his reign is a very important period of English history, although, from his youth, his influence on its transactions was very limited. The real rulers were, first, his uncle Somerset, and afterwards John Dudley, duke of Northumberland<sup>a</sup>,

<sup>a</sup> He was born in 1502, and was the son of Edmund Dudley. Very soon after his father's death he was restored in blood, soon distinguished himself in arms, accompanied Cardinal Wolsey on his embassy to France, and was appointed master of the horse to Anne of Cleves. In 1543 he was, in consequence of his maternal descent, made Lord Lisle; and was soon after appointed lord high admiral, when he took Leith, and the next year defended Boulogne, and ravaged the French coast. He was named one of the executors of the will of Henry VIII., created earl of Warwick, had the principal part in the Scottish campaign, and is accused of sowing dissension between the Protector and his brother which caused the ruin of both. He became on Somerset's



Arms of Dudley, duke of Northumberland.

both men of little principle. From merely political motives, they joined with Cranmer and other real Reformers in establishing the Church of England substantially on its present footing; but they confiscated its possessions, laboured to render its ministers, from the highest to the lowest, mere creatures of the State, and treated the Princess Mary, Gardiner, Heath, Bonner, and others in a manner altogether unjustifiable, and which unquestionably had a great share in bringing about the persecution by which the following reign was rendered so unhappy and so odious.

Somerset, the Protector, after driving from the council the lord chancellor, (Wriothesley,) who was a decided Romanist, applied himself with vigour to carry forward the work of reformation. He also made an expedition against Scotland, but though he gained a victory in the field, he could not bring about the marriage which Henry VIII. had projected between his son and the

fall the real ruler of the kingdom, obtained the high offices of lord steward and earl marshal, and was created duke of Northumberland, receiving at the same time the county palatine of Durham. By a feigned zeal for Protestantism he gained a great ascendancy over Edward VI., and prevailed on him to bequeath the crown to his cousin, Lady Jane Grey; but this enterprise failed in the execution; Northumberland was deserted by his adherents, and, in spite of his abject submission, was tried, condemned, and executed as a traitor, and owed Christian burial to the gratitude of an old servant (John Cock, Lancaster herald), who begged his remains from the queen, and interred them in the chapel of the Tower. He had married Jane, daughter of Sir Edward Guildford, warden of the Cinque Ports, and had a large family; four of his sons were concerned in his treason, but only one of them (Guildford) was executed; his daughter Mary became the mother of Sir Philip Sydney. Northumberland was a bold, active, unscrupulous man, and though he greatly forwarded the Reformation, it was evidently merely from views of personal aggrandizement, for he died professing himself a Romanist, and warning the spectators to avoid the Protestant teachers as "sowers of sedition."

young queen as a means of uniting the kingdoms. He offended the rest of the council by assuming a superiority which they contended that Henry VIII. had not meant to exist, and alarmed them by introducing foreign troops ; and being already odious to the nation for his rapacity in seizing the college and chantry lands, and his unnatural conduct in bringing his brother to the scaffold, he was easily stripped of his power by a confederacy formed against him, and committed to the Tower, in October, 1549.

The earl of Warwick was now ruler. After a while Somerset was permitted to return to the council, but was soon involved in what seems to have been a sham plot, tried, condemned, and put to death. The young king's health had long been declining, and Dudley (now become duke of Northumberland) having gained his confidence by an apparent zeal for the Reformation, persuaded him to settle the crown on his cousin, Lady Jane Grey<sup>b</sup>, to the exclusion of his sisters ; a change in the succession which he was incompetent to make without the authority of parliament. Edward died very shortly after, at Greenwich, on July 6, 1553, and was buried on August 8, at Westminster.

Beside the formal establishment of Protestantism, the reign of Edward is chiefly remarkable for the enactment of severe laws against vagabonds and tumultuous assem-

<sup>b</sup> She was the daughter of Henry Grey, duke of Suffolk, by his wife Frances, who was the daughter of Mary, the sister of Henry VIII. and Charles Brandon. Lady Jane, though only sixteen, was the wife of Guildford Dudley, the duke's son. She was learned, amiable, and pious, and her long imprisonment and violent death were the fruit of her filial piety, which induced her to accept the crown against her better judgment.

blies, the creation of a variety of new treasons<sup>c</sup>, and some discreditable tampering with the coin<sup>d</sup>. A peace was concluded with France, by which king Henry's conquest of Boulogne was given up, and an attempt was made to bring about a marriage between the king and Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II. War was maintained, on a small scale, against the Scots, but the council feared to enter on hostilities with the emperor (Charles V.), and therefore, after an angry debate, they desisted from their design of forcing the new service-book on the Princess Mary, though they imprisoned her servants, and prevented her own escape to Flanders.

The arms of Edward VI. are the same as those of Henry VIII., but his supporters are uniformly the golden lion and the red dragon. Only one badge, the sun in splendour, is ascribed to him.

The character of the young king, as far as it was allowed to develop itself, was amiable. To his councillors, and not to himself, must be laid the odium of the



Badge of Edward VI.

<sup>c</sup> These treasons were, however, in general, such as had been created under the reign of Henry VIII. and abolished in the first parliament of Edward VI.; they were re-enacted in the year 1552, after the fall of Somerset.

<sup>d</sup> Under the date April 10, 1551, the young king writes in his Journal: "It was appointed to make 20,000 pound weight for necessity somewhat baser, to get gains £16,000 clear, by which the debt of the realm might be paid, the country defended from any sudden attempt, and the coin amended." Several subsequent entries speak of "deliberations touching the coin," in one of which "the small money was ordered to be made of a baser state," and in another, two standards were fixed on, "one without any craft;" "the other not fully six [the nominal standard], of which kind was not a few."

execution of his uncles, and the burning of heretics; but his own better nature appeared in his noble charitable foundations of hospitals and schools; his acquirements embraced both ancient and modern languages\*, and he has left a monument of his literary abilities in a minute Journal, and several detached letters and papers on political and controversial subjects.

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A.D. 1547. Edward received as king, Jan. 28<sup>f</sup>.

The executors of the late king's will meet, when, after some opposition from Wriothesley, the chancellor, the earl of Hertford is declared protector of the king's realms, and governor of his person.

Several of the executors and others receive higher titles: the earl of Hertford is created duke of Somerset; the viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick; the lord Wriothesley, earl of Southampton.

The chancellor puts the great seal in commission without the consent of the rest of the executors, and is himself in consequence deprived of his office, and imprisoned, March 6.

The Protector receives a grant of his office by letters patent, March 13.

\* His chief tutor was Sir John Cheke, a man of more learning than firmness of principle. He was of St. John's College, Cambridge, and greatly promoted the study of Greek in that University. On the death of the young king he was imprisoned, first as a partisan of Lady Jane Grey, and next as a heretic, when hard usage induced him to feign conformity to Romanism; but being put forward in the persecution of others, he died of grief and shame in the year 1557.

<sup>f</sup> His regnal years are computed from this day, which was also that of the death of his predecessor,—a practice then first introduced. See vol. i. p. 419.



Francis I. of France dies, March 22; he is succeeded by Henry II.

The curate and churchwardens of a London parish (St. Martin, Ironmonger-lane) remove the images and pictures and crucifix from their church. Gardiner and the clergy generally censure this, but Cranmer and his friends resolve on a further reformation.

A book of Homilies, twelve in number, set forth, in which the doctrines of the Reformers are advocated.

The castle of St. Andrew's captured and destroyed by the French, August.

Nicholas Ridley appointed bishop of Rochester<sup>s</sup>, Aug. 14.

The Protector invades Scotland, in order to enforce the marriage treaty formed in 1543<sup>h</sup>. He defeats the Scots at Pinkie (near Musselburgh), Sept. 10, captures Edinburgh, and places garrisons in Broughty, Roxburgh, and other castles, and returns to England.

An ecclesiastical visitation carried out, for the purpose of removing images, asserting the royal supremacy, and

<sup>s</sup> He was born in 1500, in Northumberland, was educated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and became eminent as a preacher. He warmly embraced the doctrine of the Reformation, and ventured as early as 1540 to celebrate portions of the service in English, in his church of Herne, near Canterbury, but was saved from evil consequences by Cranmer, by whose influence also he was now raised to the episcopate. In 1550 he was translated to London, and treated the kindred and servants of his deprived predecessor Bonner with a kindness and liberality which he unfortunately did not himself experience when Bonner was reinstated. A sermon of his before Edward VI. had great effect in inducing the young king to endow the city hospitals. On the young king's death, Ridley preached in favour of Lady Jane Grey, and was in consequence thrown into the Tower, where he was for a while mildly treated, in the hope of his conformity; at length he was sent to Oxford, condemned as a heretic, and burnt with Latimer, Oct. 16, 1555.

<sup>h</sup> See p. 196.

compelling the use of the English tongue in the Church services. Bonner and Gardiner express their dissent from the proceedings of the visitors, and are imprisoned in the Fleet, September<sup>1</sup>.

The Princess Mary protests against the projected changes in religious matters<sup>k</sup>.

The parliament meets, Nov. 4.

The sacrament of the altar directed to be administered in both kinds, as agreeable to primitive usage, and contemptuous words against it to be punished by fine and imprisonment, [1 Edw. VI. c. 1].

The appointment of bishops ordered to be by letters patent, [c. 2].

Vagabonds ordered to be branded, and for absconding to be reduced to perpetual slavery, [c. 3].

This statute, though containing some provisions for the relief of "impotent folk," was manifestly, from the number of clauses relating to clerks convict, directed against the expelled monastics, whose natural hostility to the men who had displaced them, pointed them out as serious obstacles in the way of the reformation which Cranmer and his friends were resolved to carry out. The pensions that had been granted to them when their houses were suppressed appear to have been badly paid, and though some of their number received benefices, these were ordinarily inadequate to their subsistence, and the whole body would have starved but for the affection borne to

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner was released in January, 1548, but again imprisoned in June; he remained in the Tower until the accession of Mary.

<sup>k</sup> She maintained that the council had no authority to make any change in the laws of Henry VIII., they having sworn to observe them while the king was under age. Such was also the opinion of Gardiner and Bonner.

them by the great bulk of the people : hence, from necessity, many wandered about living on alms, and they thus fell under the penalties of this statute, which are more barbarous than can readily be imagined. Any person was empowered to seize another "loitering, without work for three days together," and take him before a justice, who was to cause the prisoner to be branded with "V" on the breast with a hot iron, and to adjudge him to two years' slavery, to be "fed on bread and water, or such small drink and refuse of meat" as the master should think fit ; who was also empowered to punish the "slave" at his discretion by beating, chaining, or the like. If the unhappy creature endeavoured to escape, he was, by another statute [c. 3] to be branded with "S," and condemned to slavery for life. Such a system could not long be maintained, even against religious opponents, and accordingly stat. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 16 abolished it, and revived the milder provisions of the act of Henry VIII.<sup>1</sup>

Several of the new-made treasons of the late king's reign abolished, [1 Edw. VI. c. 12].

All colleges, chantries, and free chapels given to the king<sup>m</sup>, [c. 14].

A.D. 1548. Proclamations issued against several accustomed ceremonies (as carrying candles on Candlemas-day, and ashes on Ash-Wednesday), and also for the removal of images, February.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 164.

<sup>m</sup> The act professes that their revenues are to be devoted to the maintenance of grammar schools, the improvement of vicarages, and the support of preachers ; some portion was so applied, but much the greater part was shared among the members of the government, to support the charge of their new dignities, or was employed in the payment of the late king's debts.

A committee of bishops and other divines<sup>a</sup> appointed to examine the offices of the Church, and consider of their amendment.

A new communion-office is in consequence promulgated, to take effect at the next Easter, (April 1).

Gardiner is summoned before the council, and declining to preach in all respects as directed, is sent to the Tower, June 29.

The French dispatch succours to Scotland, and the young queen (Mary) is sent to France.

The Scots besiege Haddington in vain<sup>b</sup>, but recover Home Castle and other fortresses.

An English fleet is repulsed in an attempt on the Scottish coast.

Peter Martyr, Bucer, Fagius, and other foreign reformers are invited to England<sup>c</sup>.

Lord Seymour, the Protector's brother<sup>d</sup>, intrigues

<sup>a</sup> These were Cranmer and Holgate, the archbishops; the bishop of London (Bonner) and fifteen other bishops, and Cox and five other divines.

<sup>b</sup> The fortifications of Haddington were blown up, and the town abandoned by the English shortly after.

<sup>c</sup> As has been remarked (see p. 169), the foreign reformers had no influence while Henry VIII. lived, but they were now courted, perhaps too earnestly, by Cranmer and his friends. They were divided into the two classes of Lutherans and Calvinists, and some of their peculiar and contradictory dogmas being introduced into our public formularies gave occasion for the unhappy dissensions in the Church which marked the reign of Elizabeth and her successors, and endure to the present day.

Of the parties named, Peter Martyr, originally an Italian friar, was particularly skilful in disputation; Bucer had carried on a controversy with Gardiner on the marriage of priests; and Fagius was an eminent Hebraist. Peter Martyr was placed in a professorship at Oxford; the others were similarly employed at Cambridge: Bucer and Fagius died in England; Peter Martyr withdrew on the accession of Mary, and afforded such aid as was in his power to the Protestant exiles.

<sup>d</sup> His wife (queen Katherine) was now dead, and he wished to marry the princess Elizabeth, which the Protector opposed.

against him, and endeavours to gain possession of the king's person.

A.D. 1549. The Act of Uniformity passed, [2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1,] ordaining that the "order of divine worship" contained in the book drawn up by the commissioners<sup>r</sup>, "with the aid of the Holy Ghost," should be the only one to be used after the ensuing Whitsuntide (May 20)<sup>s</sup>. The penalties for refusing to use it, or for writing or speaking against it, were, fines for the first and second offences, and forfeiture of goods and imprisonment for life for the third.

Lord Seymour is committed to the Tower, Jan. 19; the charges against him were that he had endeavoured to marry the Princess Elizabeth, and to corrupt the king's servants; had attempted to raise forces, and had procured the coining of base money; had leagued with pirates, and intended to seize on the isle of Lundy and the Scilly isles. He was condemned without a hearing, and attainted [2 & 3 E w. VI. c. 18].

Tithes regulated by statute, [c. 13].

Abstinence from flesh ordained, not as a religious matter, but as healthful, and also to employ fishermen, [c. 19].

The marriage of priests allowed, [c. 21].

Lord Seymour is beheaded, March 20<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> See p. 210.

<sup>s</sup> Some priests were found who continued to use the former mode: a presentment of the grand jury of Essex remains on record against William Harper, vicar of Writtle, for "elevating the sacrament of our Lord" and invoking saints contrary to this statute; the proceedings were removed into the court of King's Bench, April 24, 1550, but their result is not known.

<sup>t</sup> His nephew, the young king, enters the fact in his Journal,

The Princess Mary refuses to receive the new service; the council remonstrates with her, but the emperor (Charles V.) espouses her cause, and they do not venture to proceed to extremities.

Public disputations held at Oxford and Cambridge on the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Tumults in many parts of England, chiefly directed against landlords who inclosed land for pasture and discouraged tillage<sup>u</sup>. The Protector expresses himself favourable to the people, and thus offends many of his fellow-councillors.

The people of Cornwall and Devon, headed by Humphrey Arundel, a veteran soldier, rise in June, and demand the restoration of the ancient Liturgy<sup>x</sup>. They besiege Exeter, but are dispersed by Lord Russell<sup>y</sup> about the middle of August; some, who retire into Somersetshire, are followed and dispersed by the end of the month. Ket, a tanner, rises in Norfolk, in July, and demands the destruction of inclosures and the dismissal of evil counsellors. He defeats some parties sent against

without a word of natural feeling: "The lord Sudley, admiral of England, was condemned to death, and died in March ensuing." His brother, the Protector, and Cranmer, both signed the warrant, which rendered them very unpopular.

<sup>u</sup> This was chiefly done by those new-made nobles and gentry who had acquired a large share of the abbey lands.

<sup>x</sup> They declared, "We will have the act of Six Articles up again, and ceremonies as were in King Henry's time." Cranmer was employed by the council to reply to their demands, but neither this nor a threatening proclamation from the king was at all regarded by them.

<sup>y</sup> John Russell, a Dorsetshire gentleman, who became a courtier, obtained vast grants of abbey lands, and was made a peer in 1539. In 1550 he was created earl of Bedford. He continued in favour, under Mary, was employed by her in embassies, and died in March, 1555.

him, but his forces are dispersed by the earl of Warwick, about the end of August.

Much blood was shed in skirmishes, and after the dispersion of the insurgents, the mayor of Bodmin and very many others were put to death by martial law. Arundel, Bury, the Somersetshire insurgent, and the two Kets (or Knight), Robert and William, together with John Wynchelade and Thomas Holmes, were tried at Westminster<sup>2</sup>, November 26; they all pleaded guilty, and were soon after executed.

The French besiege Boulogne, and the Scots recover all their strong places, except Lauder, from the English.

Bonner is ordered to preach on the necessity of obeying the king, though under age; he neglects to do so, and is deprived of his see, and imprisoned, Oct. 1.

The earls of Southampton and Warwick cabal against the Protector. He retires to Hampton Court with the king. The rest of the council assemble at Ely-house, Oct. 6; they charge the Protector with a design against their lives, are joined by the lieutenant of the Tower, and the citizens of London, and the speaker of the House of Commons.

The Protector, having meanwhile removed the king to Windsor, submits to the council, and is sent to the Tower, Oct. 13. The king is brought back to Hampton Court, and placed in the keeping of the earl of Warwick and five others of the council.

<sup>2</sup> From the indictments of various parties it appears that there were disturbances also in the counties of Berks, Hants, Middlesex, Oxford, Kent, Surrey, and Sussex; the watchword of the insurgents being "Kill the gentlemen."

The earl of Warwick, who was understood to be favourable to the ancient worship, finding the king inclined to a further reformation, takes every possible step to promote it.

The parliament assembles, Nov. 4. It passes a severe act against unlawful assemblies, [3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 5]; the meeting of twelve persons on any matter of state being declared treason, and if for destroying inclosures, felony<sup>a</sup>.

Images and pictures of saints in churches ordered to be destroyed<sup>b</sup> [c. 10].

A new form of ordination of ministers ordered to be prepared by a committee of six prelates and six divines, [c. 12].

The duke of Somerset makes his formal submission before the king and the council, Dec. 23<sup>c</sup>.

The council directs all missals and similar books to be given up, and provision to be made for celebrating the communion in both kinds.

A.D. 1550. Heath, bishop of Worcester, declines to agree to the Ordinal drawn up by his fellow-commissioners, and is sent to the Fleet, March 4.

<sup>a</sup> The parties were to be warned to disperse, in a form of words substantially the same as those now employed in case of riot: "The king, our sovereign lord, chargeth and commandeth all persons being assembled, immediately to disperse themselves, and peaceably to depart to their habitations, or to their lawful business, upon the pains contained in the Act lately made against Unlawful and Rebelious Assemblies. And God save the king."

<sup>b</sup> Images on tombs were excepted from the operation of this statute, but too many of them were sacrificed to a barbarous zeal stimulated by cupidity, as they were often formed of copper.

<sup>c</sup> In this document he pleaded guilty to all the matters contained in an accusation of 29 articles exhibited against him; his submission, however, did not appear complete, and he was obliged to make another, couched in most abject terms, Feb. 2, 1550.



The duke of Somerset, who had been released from the Tower, Feb. 6, is re-admitted to the council, April 10<sup>d</sup>.

Peace made with France and Scotland, March 24. Boulogne is surrendered for a sum of money\*, and the fortifications of Roxburgh and other places on the Scottish border destroyed.

The earl of Warwick makes himself supreme in the council, and fines and imprisons on various pretexts most of those who had joined him against Somerset, as well as Somerset's friends.

The sees of London and Westminster united, and Nicholas Ridley appointed bishop, April 1.

## IRELAND.

A.D. 1550. The new Liturgy read in the cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin, on Easter-day (April 6).

The Prayer-book was printed, professedly in Dublin, in 1551, and the Bible in the following year<sup>f</sup>; but these important steps in favour of the Reformation were not followed up. Sir Anthony St. Leger, who had been appointed in 1540, continued lord deputy in both this and the succeeding reign<sup>g</sup>; and though, in obedience to di-

\* He appeared at the court on the 31st March, according to the King's Journal.

• Lord Clinton, the governor, marched out with his garrison, April 25; he returned to England in May, and was made lord high admiral; the light horsemen and men at arms of the garrison were employed as a body guard for the court, under the marquis of Northampton; the rest were sent to the Scottish frontier.

<sup>f</sup> These have been usually considered the earliest productions of the Irish press, but it is now pretty generally agreed that the Prayer-book was printed in England.

<sup>g</sup> He was displaced and reinstated twice in the time of Edward VI., in consequence of quarrels with the Butlers. One of the inter-

rections from England, statutes were enacted for a reformation in religion, no pains were taken to put them in execution. Archbishop Browne, of Dublin, and John Bale, bishop of Ossory, were almost the only favourers of the Reformation; on the death of King Edward, Browne was expelled as being a married man, and Bale, attempting to celebrate the English service, had several of his attendants slain, and was besieged in his palace; when relieved by the mayor of Kilkenny, he thought it prudent to retire to Dublin, and shortly after went into exile.

A.D. 1550. Joan Bocher, a woman of Kent, burnt for heretical opinions on the incarnation of our Lord, May 2.

John Hooper, appointed bishop of Gloucester, July 3, refuses to wear the customary vestments, on which a controversy arises among the Reformers.

A congregation of German Protestants allowed to settle in London, under the superintendence of John a Lasco<sup>h</sup>.

Ridley makes a visitation of his diocese, and labours zealously to enforce the Injunctions.

The Princess Mary endeavours to flee to Flanders, but the sheriff of Essex (Sir John Yates) is directed to prevent her, and bodies of troops are posted to watch the coast, July.

mediate governors (Sir Edward Bellingham) enlarged the English pale by the reduction of the districts of Leix and Ofully, (now King's and Queen's County).

<sup>h</sup> Letters patent, dated July 4, 1550, were issued, naturalizing them, 380 in number, and bestowing the church of the Austin Friars, in the city of London, for their use.

A revision of the new service-book is made, in accordance with the advice of Bucer and others of the foreign Protestants.

A.D. 1551. Gardiner is deprived of his see, April 18, (or Nov. 27).

George van Parre, an Anabaptist, burnt, April 24.

Articles of Religion (forty-two in number) prepared, and further alterations made in the Book of Common Prayer.

Commissions issued to seize the jewels and rich vestments of the churches into the king's hands<sup>1</sup>.

The council endeavour to compel the Princess Mary to adopt the new service-book; they imprison her chaplains and officers, but she refuses to yield<sup>k</sup>, and they abandon the point, for fear of a war with the emperor, her kinsman.

Veysey, bishop of Exeter, resigns his see; is succeeded by Miles Coverdale<sup>l</sup>, Aug. 14.

<sup>1</sup> These commissions were dishonestly executed; in 1553 it was found necessary to appoint other commissioners to inquire into the embezzlements of their predecessors.

<sup>k</sup> According to her brother King Edward's Journal, when summoned before the council (March 18), "she answered, that her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary doings." Strict measures were taken against her servants; Dr. Mallet, her chaplain, was sent to the Tower, April 27; and Sir Robert Rochester and other members of her household, in August.

<sup>l</sup> He was born in Yorkshire, in 1487, and became an Augustine friar. He was one of the earliest Englishmen who adopted the views of Luther, and in consequence went abroad, where he was the associate of Tindal in the translation and printing of the Bible. On the accession of Mary he was expelled from his see, and again went abroad, where he took part in the production of the Geneva Bible. Though he returned in the time of Elizabeth, he declined to re-enter on his see, but passed the few remaining years of his life as an itinerant preacher, being, under the name of "Father Coverdale," greatly esteemed, and the scruples regarding vestments which he

The earl of Warwick intrigues to alter the succession to the throne; he also procures higher titles for himself, and his adherents<sup>m</sup>, and resolves to remove the duke of Somerset.

Day, bishop of Chichester, and Heath, bishop of Worcester, are deprived of their sees, Oct. 10.

Somerset is suddenly seized and sent to the Tower, Oct. 16; he is tried before the Lord High Steward (William Paulet, marquis of Winchester) and peers, charged with high treason and felony<sup>n</sup>, Dec. 1; he is acquitted of treason, but found guilty of felony, and sentenced to be hanged.

Tonstall, bishop of Durham, is sent to the Tower Dec. 20.

A.D. 1552. The parliament meets, Jan. 30.

An act for uniformity of common prayer and administration of the sacraments passed<sup>o</sup> [5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1], and ordered to be read in churches annually.

had brought with him from Geneva, treated with kindly forbearance. He died in 1568.

His coadjutor, William Tindal, was a Welshman, who had been educated at Oxford, but failing to procure a living at home, had gone to Antwerp, where he employed himself on the translation of the New Testament. He afterwards removed to Hamburg, where he met with Coverdale. After suffering shipwreck and other misfortunes, Tindal was seized and executed as a heretic at Brussels, in 1536.

<sup>m</sup> He himself was created duke of Northumberland, and the marquis of Dorset, duke of Suffolk; the earl of Wiltshire became marquis of Winchester, and Sir William Herbert, earl of Pembroke. Cecil, the secretary, was knighted.

<sup>n</sup> The treason was a design imputed to him of seizing the Tower and the treasure and stores therein, and the great seal; the felony, an attempt on the liberty (not the lives) of Warwick and other councillors.

<sup>o</sup> The act states that the Book of Common Prayer had been "perused, explained, and made fully perfect," and it was alone to be used, under the same penalties as in the act of 1548. See p. 211.

The duke of Somerset is beheaded within the Tower, Jan. 22<sup>p</sup>.

Sir Ralph Fane, Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Miles Partridge, and Sir Michael Stanhope, are tried as having instigated the duke of Somerset to insurrection<sup>a</sup>, Jan. 27, 28, Feb. 5 and 6; they are found guilty<sup>r</sup>, and are executed, Feb. 26.

A new king of arms, Ulster, appointed for Ireland, Feb. 2.

A body of canon law drawn up, principally by Cranmer<sup>s</sup>.

The see of Gloucester is suppressed, and its territory united to that of Worcester, John Hooper being made bishop, May 20.

A number of new treasons created by act of parliament [5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 11]; keeping possession of any of the king's castles, or ships, or artillery, six days after being ordered to give them up; or declaring the king, or any of the presumptive successors named by his father's will (the princesses Mary and Elizabeth), to be a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper, are among the number.

Fast days and holy days set forth by statute [5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 3].

<sup>p</sup> The king gives, in his Journal, several particulars of the charges against his uncle, but dismisses his death in the most heartless manner: "The duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower-hill, between 8 and 9 o'clock in the morning.

<sup>a</sup> They were charged with the design of murdering Warwick, and imprisoning the marquis of Northampton and Sir William Herbert.

<sup>r</sup> The king states that Fane "answered like a ruffian," and that Arundel was only condemned "after long controversy," the jury remaining near a day and a night shut up before they returned their verdict.

<sup>s</sup> He was the head of the commission, which consisted of eight bishops, eight divines, eight civilians, and eight lawyers.

A.D. 1553. The parliament meets March 1. It grants a subsidy to the king, stating in the preamble of the act [7 Edw. VI. c. 12], that its occasion arises from the "wilful misgovernance" and waste of his treasure by the duke of Somerset.

The see of Durham suppressed by act of parliament, [c. 17]. The act professes that two sees were to be founded, one at Durham, and another at Newcastle; but the whole of the temporalities of the see were granted as a county palatine to the duke of Northumberland.

The king grants his palace of Bridewell to the citizens of London for a workhouse, April 10; he afterwards bestows on them also the hospital of St. Thomas, in Southwark.

The English merchants fit out ships for discovery and trade<sup>t</sup>.

The king, who had been ill from the beginning of the year, being in danger of death, is prevailed on by the duke of Northumberland to bestow the succession to the crown on Lady Jane Grey, by his letters patent, June 21; he dies at Greenwich July 6, and is buried at Westminster<sup>u</sup>, Aug. 8.

<sup>t</sup> Three vessels sailed for northern discovery; two were lost at Nova Zembla, the third reached Archangel, and opened a trade with Russia.

<sup>u</sup> The service was, in consequence of the exertions of Cranmer, according to the English ritual; but Queen Mary also celebrated solemn obsequies for him in the Roman mode in her private chapel.



Philip and Mary, from their Great Seal.

## MARY.

MARY, the only child of Henry VIII. and Katharine of Arragon who survived her parents, was born at Greenwich, Feb. 18, 1516. In her tenth year a separate establishment was formed for her, and she was sent to reside at Ludlow, with a household of 300 persons, and with the countess of Salisbury for her governess. The time she passed there was probably the happiest of her days, for her life was early embittered by the controversy regarding her parents' marriage, although she was not pronounced illegitimate until her father had formed a new union with Anne Boleyn. Mary was brought up in a profound veneration for the see of Rome, by her mother, with whom she naturally sided, and thus she gave deep offence to her imperious father, who at length extorted the most humiliating submissions from her<sup>a</sup>; though it is to be hoped that he did not entertain the monstrous thought of putting her to death, as has been asserted. Her life, however, for years was evidently full of anxiety and danger, and her case was little improved when her brother Edward VI. succeeded to the throne;

<sup>a</sup> See p. 179.

his councillors endeavoured to enforce her conformity to the "new religion," as she considered it, by imprisoning her chaplains and servants; but she refused to yield, though prevented from escaping to the continent, and they feared to proceed further, as she was supported by a numerous party to whom she was endeared by her mother's sufferings, and her own community of faith and works of charity<sup>b</sup>, and had beside a powerful and steady friend in her cousin the emperor (Charles V.).

Edward VI. died July 6, 1553, and Mary became queen, in spite of a futile attempt of the duke of Northumberland to place his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, on the throne. She entered London in triumph, accompanied by her sister Elizabeth and the Lady Anne of Cleves, released the prisoners in the Tower, and placed herself in the hands of one of them, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who had been harshly treated in the preceding reign, and who at once set himself earnestly to work to undo all that had been effected to the prejudice of the See of Rome for the preceding twenty years. Cranmer, Ridley, and other eminent Protestants, having supported the usurpation of Jane Grey, were imprisoned, ostensibly as traitors; all preaching except on the side of the Romish party was forbidden; a public disputation was managed with palpable unfairness; and Grindal, Sandys, Aylmer, Jewel, and others who afterwards became governors of the Church,

<sup>b</sup> Her Privy Purse Account from 1536 to 1544 has been published by Sir Frederic Madden. The entries shew active benevolence towards the poor, compassion for prisoners, friendly regard and liberality to her servants; and also indicate many elegant pursuits and domestic virtues, for which in general she does not receive credit.



as well as Whittingham, Sampson, Humphrey, and many more who disturbed its peace, retired to the continent. The married clergy were displaced, images restored, and the ancient worship re-established, without waiting for the consent of the parliament.

Mary's first parliament met in October, 1553; acting on the prompting of Gardiner, it annulled all the laws of the last two reigns regarding religion, and thus prepared the way for a formal reconciliation with Rome, which was effected, under the mediation of Cardinal Pole<sup>c</sup>, about a year later. Meanwhile, after an attempt to prevent it by insurrection, the queen had married Philip of Spain, and most probably by him<sup>d</sup>, rather than by Gardiner, was induced to sanction the barbarous persecution of the Protestants, in the course of which, and in less than four years, an archbishop, three bishops, many other clergymen, and almost three hundred of the laity<sup>e</sup>, of every age, sex, and condition, suffered at the stake, but, in the language of one of the victims, (Latimer,) "lighted such a candle as all Rome has not since been able to put out." The re-establishment of Romanism was happily impossible, and these cruelties of its most devoted partisans had only the effect of rendering themselves odious to every succeeding age.

The foreign transactions of Mary's reign were as

<sup>c</sup> See p. 239.

<sup>d</sup> Public opinion at the time regarded Philip as the real originator of the persecution, and Gardiner and Bonner merely as his tools; an opinion which received confirmation from his treatment of the Protestants in his hereditary states, and which was not altered by a sermon inculcating charity and forbearance preached by his confessor, a Spanish friar.

<sup>e</sup> There are various estimates of the number, but this is the lowest; and to it must be added many victims who died in prison.

unfortunate and discreditable as her domestic government. To support the cause of her husband Philip she engaged in a war with France, which utterly exhausted her treasure, and caused the loss of Calais; an event which she did not long survive, dying exhausted by grief and anxiety<sup>f</sup>, in the same year, Nov. 17, 1558; she was buried in Henry VIIIth's chapel at Westminster, Dec. 13.

In her youth several marriages were proposed for Mary, but they were all abandoned, probably in consequence of the stigma cast on her birth. In 1554 she married Philip, the son of the emperor Charles V., who was much younger than herself; he soon treated her with neglect, and some time before her death withdrew entirely to his own dominions<sup>g</sup>. She had no issue.

<sup>f</sup> She made a will, March 30, 1558, in apprehension of the peril of childbirth, which abounds in affectionate expressions respecting her mother, her husband, and her subjects. She leaves the place of her burial to her executors, only directing that they shall cause her mother's body to be removed from Peterborough and buried with her, "with honourable tombs or monuments for a memory of us both." She gives considerable sums to religious houses, and bequeaths 400 marks a year for the foundation of an hospital for old and maimed soldiers, "the which we think both honour, conscience, and charity willeth should be provided for." She wills valuable jewels to her husband, which she prays him to keep for a remembrance, and only to bequeath them to their children, "if God should give her any;" provides for her servants; and solemnly charges her executors to make payment of the loans she has recently received from her people, and after that to discharge the debts of her brother and her father. On Oct. 28, when she felt the approach of death, she added a codicil, lamenting that Philip should no longer reign, but praying him ever to remain friendly to the English nation; and earnestly adjuring her "heir and successor" (she does not name her) to perform her bequests, and to pay her debts. The debts were eventually paid, but the hospital for soldiers was left to be founded in another age.

<sup>g</sup> Philip became king of Spain by the resignation of his father, in January, 1556.

Mary before her marriage bore the same arms as her brother, but without the garter; after her marriage her arms were impaled with those of Philip<sup>h</sup>. For supporters of her own arms she employed the golden lion, associated sometimes with the red dragon, at others with the white greyhound; but the coat when impaled is supported by an eagle and a lion. She ordinarily employed the usual motto,



Arms of Mary before her marriage.

“*Dieu et mon Droit* ;” but sometimes (in allusion to a passage in the preamble of the act asserting her legitimacy) “*Veritas Temporis filia*.” She used the pomegranate, and rose and pomegranate badges of her mother, and also a badge peculiar to herself, an impalement of the Tudor rose and a sheaf of arrows.



Badges of Mary.

Like all the children of Henry VIII., Mary was

<sup>h</sup> Philip's coat has no less than eleven bearings; the arms, namely, of Castile, Leon, Arragon, Sicily, Granada, Austria (modern), Burgundy (ancient and modern), Brabant, Flanders, and Tyrol.

learned<sup>i</sup>, and her only pleasures were her devotions, her charities, and her books. Her personal piety cannot be disputed, and her simple inexpensive mode of life saved her people from the exactions and disorders which attended the splendid "progresses" of her successor. Yet the character of Mary is usually represented in the darkest colours. Her harsh treatment of her sister, her ingratitude to Cranmer, and her persecuting to the death so many of her subjects, her needless war with France, and consequent loss of Calais, have, in the popular estimation, covered her memory with infamy. There are circumstances, however, in regard to all these matters, which ought to be taken into the account, if it be wished to form an impartial estimate of her conduct. Her war with France was probably more the work of her ministers than of herself, and she as deeply deplored its result as any of her subjects could do. If we turn to matters in which she was personally concerned, it is obvious that she was sincere in her line of conduct, and, unlike most of her cotemporaries, the changes which she attempted in religion were the source, not of gain, but of loss to her<sup>j</sup>. She could not be expected to regard as a sister, the child of the rival of her mother, and Elizabeth did not conduct herself towards her in a way to remove her dislike<sup>k</sup>; the fact that Cranmer preserved

<sup>i</sup> Her tutor was Dr. Fetherstone, executed in 1540 for asserting the validity of her mother's marriage. See p. 191.

<sup>j</sup> Though burdened with the debts of her father and brother, she re-founded several religious houses, and gave back to the Church the first-fruits and tenths; these were all seized again by her successor, Elizabeth.

<sup>k</sup> Yet she made her several presents of rich jewels, and caused her to be treated kindly, though obliged to guard against the designs of Elizabeth's friends.

her life from the fury of her father is doubtful<sup>1</sup>; but it is quite certain that he concurred in the harsh proceedings of her brother's council against her, and joined in the attempt to exclude her from the throne; and she could hardly forget the sentence of divorce and bastardy that he had pronounced. As to the heaviest charge against her, her persecution of her Protestant subjects, this was disguised, probably, even to her own heart, by the same specious reasons as induced Cranmer himself to commit Joan Bocher and the Anabaptists to the flames; persecution of all who ventured to hold opinions contrary to those favoured by authority being a general rule of policy with every communion in the sixteenth century; and thus accounting for, though not justifying, the conduct of the queen of England, and the contemporary kings of France, as well as that of Cranmer and Calvin<sup>m</sup>.

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A.D. 1553. Northumberland and his associates endeavour to seize the Princess Mary; she is informed of her brother's death, which they endeavour to conceal, and writes to the council from Kenninghall, in Suffolk, July 9, to claim the crown.

The council reply, that "Queen Jane is their sovereign, according to the ancient laws of the land and the late king's letters pat nt."

Lady Jane is proclaimed queen, July 10.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 179.

<sup>m</sup> If the royal offenders against Christian charity committed atrocities which seem to throw the burning of the Anabaptists and of Servetus into the shade, it must not be forgotten that there was at least as great a difference in the power of the respective parties as in their actions.

Queen Mary raises forces to support her title<sup>a</sup>; Northumberland leaves London, July 14, to proceed against them.

Ridley, bishop of London, preaches at Paul's Cross in favour of Jane, Sunday, July 16, as does Sands, the vice-chancellor, at Cambridge, on the same day<sup>o</sup>.

The earl of Arundel and others of the council forsake Northumberland; they proclaim Queen Mary in London, July 19, and order Northumberland to disband his forces.

Northumberland, being at Cambridge, dismisses his troops and proclaims Queen Mary, July 20; he is seized by the earl of Arundel, July 21, and sent with three of his sons to the Tower, where he arrives July 25<sup>p</sup>.

The queen enters London, August 3, accompanied by the Princess Elizabeth, and the Lady Anne of Cleves; she proceeds at once to the Tower, and releases the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, the widow of the duke of Somerset, lord Courteney<sup>q</sup>, and other prisoners.

The queen sends for the lord mayor (George Barne) and aldermen to the Tower, Aug. 12, and assures them

<sup>a</sup> Among the earliest to join her were the crew of a ship that had been stationed on the coast to prevent her anticipated flight.

<sup>o</sup> They were both sent to the Tower a few days after; Ridley was kept in confinement until his martyrdom, but Sands was soon released; he went abroad, returned on Mary's death, and held in succession the sees of Worcester, London and York; he died Aug. 8, 1588.

<sup>p</sup> The duke of Suffolk, father to Lady Jane Grey, was also sent to the Tower, July 28, but released three days after.

<sup>q</sup> He was the son of the marquis of Exeter, executed in 1539 (see p. 188); he was soon created earl of Devon, but fell under suspicion of favouring Wyatt's rebellion, was imprisoned, and died in exile in 1556.

that "albeit her own conscience was stayed in matters of religion, yet she meant not to compel or strain men's consciences otherwise than God should, as she trusted, put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth that she is in, through the opening of His word unto them by godly and virtuous and learned preachers."

A tumult occurs in Paul's-cross, on Sunday, Aug. 13, on occasion of Bonner re-entering into possession of his see<sup>r</sup>; occasion is thence taken to prohibit all preaching except by persons having special license<sup>s</sup>.

The duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, (Northumberland's son) are tried before the duke of Norfolk as Lord High Steward, and their peers, charged with treason; they plead guilty, Aug. 18. Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gate, Sir Henry Gate, and Sir Thomas Palmer, are tried by a special commission on a similar charge, Aug. 19; they also plead guilty. The duke, Sir John Gate, and Sir Thomas Palmer, are beheaded, Aug. 22<sup>t</sup>.

Gardiner is made lord chancellor, Aug. 23.

<sup>r</sup> Bourn, his chaplain, preached a sermon in which he censured the proceedings against Bonner in the preceding reign; stones and a dagger were thrown at him, and he owed his life to the exertions of Rogers and Bradford, two of the prebendaries, who afterwards suffered martyrdom.

<sup>s</sup> These licenses were granted only to known Romanists, but many of the Protestants preached without, and were in consequence imprisoned, the first step in the Marian persecution.

<sup>t</sup> The sum of £10 13s. 4d. was given to them, by the queen's order, to distribute in alms at their execution, as appears from the Lord Chamberlain's account. They all died warning the people not to turn religion into sedition, as they had done. The others were pardoned after a brief imprisonment, and most of them were afterwards employed by the queen; the earl of Warwick, however, died in the Tower, having remained there through illness, Oct. 21, 1554. He has left his own name "JOHN DUDLEY," on the wall of the Beauchamp tower, as also an elaborate device and inscription, commemorating by floral emblems the names of his four brothers.

## IRELAND.

A.D. 1553. George Dowdall, archbishop of Armagh, is reinstated in his see, and the primacy.

Dowdall had gone into exile in the time of King Edward, on the primacy being adjudged to the see of Dublin. He now had a commission granted to him, in virtue of which he deprived the archbishop of Dublin (George Browne), and the bishops of Meath, Kildare, and Leighlin (Edward Staples, Thomas Lancaster, and Robert Travers), as married men; and Bale, bishop of Ossory, having fled the country, the rest of the bishops readily complied with the restoration of Romanism. Sir Thomas Ratcliff (afterwards earl of Sussex) was appointed deputy in 1556, and held a parliament which passed acts regarding religion similar to those that had been carried in England, but, probably owing to their small number, no persecution of Protestants followed; indeed, some from England found refuge in Ireland.

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A.D. 1553. Bonner, Day, Gardiner, Heath, and Tonnistall, are restored to their sees; Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, is sent to the Fleet, Sept. 1.

Latimer (formerly bishop of Exeter) is sent to the Tower, Sept. 13<sup>u</sup>; the foreign Protestants are ordered to leave England, and Cox, Grindal, Horne, and other Churchmen, retire to Germany.

<sup>u</sup> He is said in the Council-book to be committed for his seditious demeanour; he was to remain a close prisoner, but to be attended by one Ansly, his servant.



Cranmer draws up a declaration of his stedfastness in the reformed religion<sup>x</sup>; he is summoned before the council, and committed to the Tower, Sept. 14.

The queen is crowned with much ceremony, by Gardiner, Oct. 1, on which occasion she remits the taxes voted in the last parliament of King Edward.

The archbishop of York committed to the Tower, Oct. 4.

The parliament meets<sup>y</sup> Oct. 5, and sits (with a short adjournment) till Dec. 6. The new treasons, præmunires, and felonies created in the two preceding reigns are abolished, [1 Mar. c. 1]. The queen is declared to have been born "in a most just and lawful matrimony," [sess. 2, c. 1]; the laws concerning religion passed in the last reign are annulled, [c. 2]; and the form of divine service as used in the last year of Henry VIII. is re-established from the ensuing 20th of December<sup>z</sup>.

Assemblies of more than twelve persons to attempt any alteration of religion declared felony<sup>a</sup>, [1 Mar. c. 12.]

The attainder of the duke of Norfolk reversed, [1 Mar. cc. 22, 34].

<sup>x</sup> Reports had been spread that he had offered to perform mass before the queen, and had caused it to be restored in his cathedral, which he indignantly denied.

<sup>y</sup> The convocation met Oct. 18, and after a strenuous opposition from Philpot and a few others, the doctrine of transubstantiation was affirmed. Weston, the prolocutor, closed the debate with the barbarous expression, "You have the word, but we have the sword!"

<sup>z</sup> By the zeal of Bonner, the former service was fully re-established in St. Paul's on the 25th of November, even before the queen had assented to this act; he had commenced its restoration on his own authority, Aug. 27.

<sup>a</sup> By the assembly of a less number the penalty of a year's imprisonment was incurred. The act also punished tumults for other purposes, as destroying inclosures, &c., but its provisions were less rigorous than those of the statute of 1549 against unlawful assemblies. See p. 214.

Archbishop Cranmer, Lady Jane Grey, her husband, Guildford, and his brothers, Sir Ambrose and Henry Dudley, are tried at Guildhall, Nov. 13, by a special commission consisting of the lord mayor (Thomas White), the duke of Norfolk and others, on charges of treason. Cranmer pleads not guilty, but withdraws his plea; the rest plead guilty. Sir Robert Dudley, another brother, is tried at the same place on similar charges, Jan. 20, 1554, and pleads guilty<sup>b</sup>.

Negotiations are commenced for a reconciliation with Rome; Cardinal Pole is commissioned as legate to bring it about.

Veysey, bishop of Exeter, is restored to his see, Dec. 28.

A.D. 1554. A marriage is concluded between the queen and Philip, son of the emperor, Charles V. The parliament (dissolved near the end of the preceding year) had expressed their dislike of the match, and now certain parties resolved to resist it by arms.

Sir Thomas Wyatt, a Kentish gentleman, confederated with Sir Peter Carew, Sir William Pickering, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Sir James Crofts, and others, as early as November, 1553, to hinder the marriage, and they seem to have been little scrupulous about the means<sup>c</sup>. The duke of Suffolk, his brother

<sup>b</sup> Only Guildford Dudley and Lady Jane were executed on this conviction; the other Dudleys received a pardon in 1555, and Cranmer was put to death as a heretic, not a traitor.

<sup>c</sup> Among their schemes, a pretended spirit concealed in the wall of a house in the city denounced the queen, the prince, the mass, confession, and other matters; the impostor (Elizabeth Croft, a girl of 18) was detected, and made a public confession of her offence at Paul's-cross, July 15. Some prayed for the queen's death, and one man, at least, contemplated regicide. In May, 1554, William Thomas,

(lord Thomas Grey), and his sons joined themselves to them, and endeavoured to raise troops in Leicester, Jan. 29, by the offer of a payment of sixpence a-day; their attempt was unsuccessful, and they were soon lodged in the Tower; Carew<sup>d</sup> and Crofts equally failed in Devonshire and Wales.

Wyatt's enterprise at first seemed to prosper. He got together at least 2,000 men at Rochester, as early as Jan. 26, (according to the indictment against him,)

formerly clerk of the council, was convicted of suggesting to Arnold and others the murder of the queen. In his indictment he is charged with putting the following "argument" in writing: "Whether were it not a good device to have all these perils that we have talked of, taken away with very little bloodshed, that is to say, by killing the queen. I think John Fitzwilliams might be persuaded to do it," &c. He attempted to kill himself in prison before his trial, but was executed May 18.

<sup>d</sup> He escaped to France. The conduct of the queen towards him, recorded in the following terms in the Council-book, (Hampton Court, Sept. 22, 1554, Gardiner being present,) may fairly be taken as an evidence that she was not destitute of kind and womanly feeling.

"Whereas the Lady Talboys, wife to Sir Peter Carew, hath made right humble and earnest suit unto the king and queen's majesties, as well for leave to write unto her husband from time to time, as also to have license to send him some present relief; notwithstanding the greatness of her husband's offences, upon her importunity nevertheless, and considering that she hath done herein for her part no less than became a good and loving wife, their majesties being inclined to compassion and clemency, have been contented to condescend thereunto; and therefore it was this day resolved by the lords, that the Lady Talboys being called before them, should, for answer of the King and Queen's Highness' pleasure in the premises, not only have thus much declared unto her, that she might when she would write ovr the seas to her said husband, and for this one time only relieve him with her goods, without incurring their Highnesses' indignation for so doing." What follows shews kindness in the council. "The lords further declared, upon her humble suit, that, for her indemnity and better discharge, this declaration of the King and Queen's Highness' pleasure herein should be entered as matter of record in the Liedger and Register-book of the Council; of which resolution she being desirous to have a copy, the lords were content to grant her therein also her humble request."

and fortified the castle and bridge. The duke of Norfolk was sent against him with the queen's guard, his own retinue, and about 500 men raised in London, under the command of Alexander Brett. He sent a herald to offer pardon to the rebels, which they refused to accept, and when he was about to attack their position (Jan. 29), Brett and the Londoners cried out "We are all Englishmen!" "A Wyatt! a Wyatt!" and went over to the Kentish men, as did some of the guard and many of the retinue; the duke was obliged to flee for his life, leaving all his cannon and ammunition behind.

Wyatt reached Deptford on the 1st of February, and in answer to a message from the queen demanded that she should change her counsellors, surrender the Tower to him, and go to reside there under his custody. On the same day the queen came to the Guildhall, in London, and claimed the assistance of the citizens against Wyatt, appointing Lord William Howard lieutenant of the city, and the earl of Pembroke general of her forces in the field. The Kentish men entered Southwark without opposition on the evening of the 3rd, plundered the palace of the bishop of Winchester\*, but were unable to force a passage over London bridge. On the morning of the 6th Wyatt withdrew from Southwark, at the entreaty of the inhabitants, who saw the guns of the Tower directed against them, and marched to Kingston. He repaired the bridge, which had been broken, and marched in the night of Feb. 6-7 towards London, but

\* According to Stow, "they left not a lock on a door, or a book in his gallery or library uncut or rent into pieces, so that men might have gone up to the knees in leaves of books cut out and thrown under foot."

losing time in endeavouring to bring on a gun which had broken down, and which he could not be persuaded to abandon, his design of surprising the queen in her palace before daybreak, miscarried: he halted at Knightsbridge to rest his men, when many of his partisans, despairing of success, forsook him. When he moved forward he found himself exposed to the fire of artillery and charges of horse; he passed on, however, repulsing an attack made on him by Sir John Gage at Charing Cross, until he came to Ludgate, which was defended against him by Lord William Howard; thus unable to join his partisans in the city, he returned towards Westminster, but was met at Temple-bar by a party of horse; a skirmish ensued, and after a brief parley with a herald, who exhorted him to merit the queen's pardon by sparing bloodshed, he surrendered himself to Sir Maurice Berkeley, and with his chief accomplices was shortly after conveyed to the Tower.

Wyatt's approach was notified to the queen early in the morning, but she refused to remove for safety to the Tower; she instead remained calmly at her devotions while the conflict was going on around her gates; and she afterwards displayed a degree of lenity very unusual in her age, in dealing with the defeated insurgents; of the many hundreds of prisoners taken, not a tenth were executed<sup>f</sup>.

This rebellion, however, proved fatal to the unhappy Lady Jane Grey and her husband<sup>g</sup>; they were executed,

<sup>f</sup> Her father, her brother, her sister, acted very differently, though not exposed to personal danger. See pp. 181, 213, 278.

<sup>g</sup> It seems highly probable that but for it they would never have suffered, as their confinement had hitherto been by no means rigor-

the one within, the other without, the Tower, Feb. 12. Her father, the duke of Suffolk, was tried by his peers, and convicted, Feb. 17, and executed Feb. 23; her uncle, Sir Thomas Grey, pleaded guilty March 9, and was executed April 27. Sir Thomas Wyatt pleaded guilty March 15, and was executed April 11<sup>h</sup>; Sir James Crofts and Sir Nicholas Throckmorton were tried April 17; the trial of Throckmorton occupied the whole day, and he was acquitted, for which the jury were heavily fined<sup>1</sup>; Crofts was again brought to the bar, April 28, and convicted, but afterwards pardoned.

The earl of Devon (Edward Courteney) is sent to the Tower, Feb. 12.

The queen issues injunctions to the bishops to restore the ecclesiastical laws to their state under Henry VIII., but dispensing with the oath of supremacy, March 4.

Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer removed from the Tower, March 13, and conveyed to Oxford.

The princess Elizabeth is sent to the Tower, March 18, where she remains until May 19, and is then removed to Woodstock.

The marquis of Northampton, Lord Cobham, and

ous. Lady Jane, the Dudleys, and Archbishop Cranmer, were, by order of council, Dec. 17, 1553, allowed to have "the liberty of the walks within the garden of the Tower," on suggestion "that divers be and have been evil at ease in their bodies for want of air."

<sup>h</sup> A great number of his followers were tried, and mostly pleaded guilty, on various dates from the 13th to the 26th of February, of whom about 50 were executed. On February 20, upwards of 400 were brought before the queen at Westminster with halters round their necks, and then were set at liberty.

<sup>1</sup> He was charged with conspiring with Sir Peter Carew to seize the Tower, and had accompanied Wyatt throughout his rebellion. The jury were probably considered to have given an untrue verdict, and were therefore liable to attain under the statute of Henry VII. See p. 126.

several other prisoners, are released from the Tower, March 24.

The married clergy are either expelled, or separated from their wives.

The archbishop of York (Robert Holgate) the bishops of Bristol (Paul Bushe), Chester (John Bride), St. David's (Robert Farrar), Gloucester, (John Hooper) Hereford (John Harley), and Lincoln (John Taylor), are deprived of their sees. The bishop of Bath and Wells (William Barlow) resigns<sup>j</sup>, and the bishop of Chichester (John Scory) preserves his see for awhile by renouncing his wife and doing penance, but is subsequently expelled.

The parliament meets, April 2, and sits till May 5.

All regal power declared to be vested in the queen as fully as in any king, [1 Mar. sess. 3. c. 1].

The stipulations of the queen's marriage contract established by parliament, [c. 2].

The see of Durham re-established<sup>k</sup> [c. 3].

A public disputation held at Oxford, April 16, 17, 18, on the mass, at which Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer state their opinions, but are borne down by clamour. They are again brought forward April 28, and refusing to conform, are pronounced "obstinate heretics<sup>l</sup>."

<sup>j</sup> He soon after escaped beyond sea; one William Marriner, of Bristol, was sent to the Marshalsea for aiding him.

<sup>k</sup> The former act suppressing the see (see p. 220) is said to have been brought about by "the sinister labour, great malice, and corrupt means of certain ambitious persons then being in authority."

<sup>l</sup> Cranmer exclaimed, "From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of Almighty God, trusting to be present with Him in heaven, for whose presence on the altar I am thus condemned." His fellow-prisoners also rejoiced that they were to suffer for the truth.

The imprisoned preachers in London issue a protest against the public disputations as unfairly managed, and a design of taking some of them to Cambridge for that purpose is abandoned, May 8.

The exiled earl of Kildare<sup>m</sup> restored, May 14.

The princess Elizabeth is released from the Tower, May 19; she is put first in the charge of Lord Williams, at Woodstock, and afterwards under the care of Sir Henry Bedingfield.

The preacher at Paul's-cross (Dr. Pendleton) is fired at, June 10, which occasions a proclamation against bearing weapons.

Philip of Spain<sup>n</sup> lands at Southampton, July 20, and marries the queen at Winchester, July 25. He procures the release of the earl of Devon<sup>o</sup> and others, and opposes the views of Gardiner against the princess Elizabeth, but is unpopular from his haughty, formal behaviour<sup>p</sup>.

Notes of the proceedings in council ordered to be made in Latin or Spanish for the use of King Philip, July 27.

The bishops make a visitation to enforce the queen's injunctions<sup>q</sup>; some of the Reformed disperse ballads and poems in ridicule of the re-established ceremonies, which

<sup>m</sup> See p. 174.

<sup>n</sup> He had received from his father the kingdom of Naples, and in consequence he and the queen took the style of "King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland."

<sup>o</sup> He had been removed from the Tower to the castle of Fotheringhay; he was now allowed to go abroad, and died in Italy shortly after.

<sup>p</sup> Quarrels ensued between his attendants and the English, which are noticed in the Privy Council Book, under date Aug. 15, 1554; the Spaniards are referred to the judgment of the king, being apparently not considered amenable to the English laws.

<sup>q</sup> See p. 236.



gives great offence, and measures are taken for severe punishment<sup>r</sup>.

The parliament meets, Nov. 12, and sits till Jan. 16, 1555.

Cardinal Pole's attainder is reversed. He comes to England, arriving in London, Nov. 14; and makes a speech to the parliament inviting them to reconciliation with the Holy See, Nov. 27.

The cardinal's speech is considered in the parliament, Nov. 29; a conference of both houses is held, and an address voted to the king and queen expressing detestation of their "most horrible defection and schism from the Apostolic See," a readiness to repeal all laws made to its prejudice, and an earnest desire for reconciliation.

The cardinal, in consequence, grants them absolution, and frees the realm from all spiritual censures, Nov. 30.

Cardinal Pole and Gardiner advise different courses regarding the Reformed; the cardinal recommends lenity and forbearance, but the more violent counsels of Gardiner<sup>s</sup> unfortunately prevail.

<sup>r</sup> Some of them had before this acted very unwisely and offensively. One Robert Mendham, a tailor, was brought before the Star-chamber, Sept. 15, 1553, for "shaving a dog in despite of priesthood," and was ordered "openly to confess his folly" in the parish church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields. On Sunday, April 8, 1554, a cat was found hanging in Cheap, "with her head shorn, and the likeness of a vestment cast over her, with her fore-feet tied together, and a round piece of paper like a singing cake betwixt them;" this, by order of Bonner, was shewn to the people at Paul's-cross, by Dr. Pendleton, who was himself fired at in the pulpit shortly after. Such conduct has provoked the wrath of governments in ages more tolerant than that of the Tudors.

• He was particularly irritated by some of the English exiles abroad reprinting a book on True Obedience, the joint production of himself and Bonner, in which language most offensive to the queen was used regarding her mother's marriage and "the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome."

The Russia Company incorporated. They dispatch Richard Chancellor and Anthony Jenkinson as their agents to open a trade with Russia and Persia.

A statute passed, "repealing all Statutes, Articles, and Provisions made against the See Apostolic of Rome since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII., and also for the establishment of all Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Possessions and Hereditaments conveyed to the Laity;" [1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8]. This act recites that "much false and erroneous doctrine hath been taught, preached, and written, partly by divers the natural-born subjects of this realm, and partly being brought in hither from sundry other foreign countries, hath been sown and spread abroad within the same;" hence the obnoxious statutes (19 in number) which are now repealed<sup>t</sup>.

Praying for the queen's death, said to be practised in "prophane and schismatical conventicles," declared treason, [c. 9].

Speaking or preaching openly and advisedly against the title of the king and queen and their issue made punishable, for the first offence by forfeiture of goods and imprisonment for life, and for the second as treason<sup>u</sup>, [c. 10].

A.D. 1555. Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir James Crofts,

<sup>t</sup> The bishoprics, colleges, schools, hospitals, &c., "established sithence this schism," are confirmed, as are all marriages liable only to canonical objections. Cardinal Pole, as papal legate, consented to the Church property which had been seized remaining in lay hands, but laid it as a solemn charge on men's consciences to make restitution to the extent of their ability.

<sup>u</sup> The arbitrary course of proceeding by attainder, so frequent under Henry VIII., is forbidden by this statute; all prosecutions under it are directed to be "according to the due order and course of the common laws of this realm, and not otherwise."

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Sir George Harper, and several other prisoners, are released from the Tower, Jan. 18<sup>x</sup>.

The Marian persecution begins, with the seizure of a congregation of thirty persons in the city of London, who are discovered using the service-book of King Edward.

Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, is brought before the council, and examined as to his religious opinions, Jan. 22; he refuses to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope, and is sent back to Newgate.

Hooper, the deprived bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers, are examined before Gardiner and other bishops at St. Mary Overy, Southwark, and condemned as "obstinate heretics," Jan. 28.

Rogers is burnt in Smithfield, Feb. 4; and Hooper at Gloucester, Feb. 9.

Alphonso, a Spanish friar, and the king's confessor, preaches a sermon, Feb. 10, in which he throws the odium of the burnings on the bishops; they, in consequence, pause in their course.

Thirlby, bishop of Ely, and lord Montacute<sup>y</sup>, are sent as ambassadors to Rome, to formally complete the reconciliation, February.

The English exiles circulate an address to the queen and the people against persecution for conscience' sake<sup>z</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> The prince of Orange had visited the Tower a few days before, and expressed compassion for their captivity, and a hope that the queen would relieve them.

<sup>y</sup> Anthony Browne, formerly one of the queen's household.

<sup>z</sup> This manifesto also entered into political matters, endeavoured to alarm the holders of the abbey lands, and drew a picture of the Spanish rule in the Netherlands, and of the dangers which threatened

The queen surrenders such of the Church lands as still remain with the crown, and places them at the disposal of the cardinal.

William Flower, formerly a monk, attempts to murder the priest at St. Margaret's, Westminster, whilst ministering the sacrament on Easter-day (April 14); his hand is cut off, and he is then burnt as a heretic, in the Sanctuary, April 24.

The justices of the peace are enjoined diligently to search out heretics; many persons are in consequence apprehended, condemned, and executed.

Thirteen persons burnt at Stratford, June 27.

John Bradford<sup>a</sup>, a prebendary of St. Paul's, is burnt in Smithfield, July 1.

The English ambassadors have conferences with the pope, (Paul IV), who presses them for a restoration of all the Church lands, and the payment of Peter-pence.

The bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, and other commissioners, hold a court under the papal authority at Oxford, for the trial of Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer<sup>b</sup>. After several examinations Ridley and La-

England from the same cause. It was answered by the Romanists by an appeal to the Mosaic laws against blasphemers, and such texts as "Compel them to come in."

<sup>a</sup> Already mentioned (see p. 229) as having, with his fellow martyr Rogers, saved the life of Bourn, Bonner's chaplain; he had been imprisoned ever since Aug. 16, 1553, and is remarkable for having carried on a warm theological controversy with Ridley and other prisoners.

<sup>b</sup> The process commenced early in September, though sentence was not pronounced against Ridley and Latimer until Friday, Oct. 4, and then the cause, as far as regarded Cranmer, was remitted to Rome, where a definitive sentence of deprivation was passed against him in December. This was carried out by his formal degradation, Feb. 14, 1556.

timer are condemned as "obstinate heretics," and are burnt near Balliol College, Oct. 16. Cranmer is remanded to prison.

The parliament meets, Oct. 21.

Commissioners appointed to restore and re-edify castles and towns in the northern counties [2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. c. 1.]

Tenths and first-fruits restored to the Church, [c. 4.]

Former statutes for the relief of the poor confirmed and amended<sup>c</sup>, [c. 5.]

Sir Anthony Kingston, a member of the Commons, is imprisoned by the council for his conduct in parliament<sup>d</sup>.

Cardinal Pole, having the royal license, holds a synod, at which canons are drawn up for reforming the state of the Church.

Dr. Story and others are commissioned to restore the roodlofts, crucifixes, and images in the churches.

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester and lord chancellor, dies at Whitehall, Nov. 12<sup>e</sup>.

A.D. 1556. The archbishop of York is appointed lord chancellor, Jan. 1.

William Chamberlain, or Constable, a youth who had

<sup>c</sup> Where the poor were particularly numerous they might be licensed to beg; and sums gathered in London for their relief were to be paid to and disbursed by Christ's Hospital.

<sup>d</sup> He was discharged after a fortnight's confinement, but being afterwards accused of a design to rob the Exchequer, he was apprehended, and died on his way to London. His alleged confederates, John Throckmorton (brother of Sir Nicholas) and seven others were found guilty and executed.

<sup>e</sup> His body was wrapped in lead and placed in a vault in the church of St Mary Overy, Southwark, where it remained until near the end of February, 1556, when it was removed with much pomp and buried at Winchester. Whilst it rested at St. Mary's, the rich velvet pall was stolen from the coffin.

personated the deceased king, Edward VI., is executed<sup>f</sup>, March 13.

Cranmer is tampered with in prison, and recants; he is yet ordered for execution by writ dated Feb. 24; after a further delay he is burnt at Oxford, March 21.

Trinity College, Oxford, founded by Sir Thomas Pope<sup>g</sup>, March 18.

<sup>f</sup> Some persons were examined by the council as long back as Nov. 1553, for spreading a report of King Edward being alive. Chamberlain was the son of a miller in the north, and had been in the service of Sir Peter Meautys, who was himself imprisoned in 1555; he had before confessed his imposture, and been dismissed with a whipping, on a promise of repairing to his own country, which it seems he had not done.

<sup>g</sup> This deserves notice, as the first college founded in either University by an individual since the Reformation. On its site were some ruined buildings of Durham college, a foundation of the latter part of



Tomb of Sir Thomas Pope, in Trinity College Chapel.

the 13th century, which had been shortly before granted to Dr. George Owen and William Martyn, and were purchased from them by Sir Thomas Pope. He had been educated at Eton, was a lawyer,

Cardinal Pole is consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, March 22<sup>h</sup>. He publicly assumes the functions of papal legate, March 28.

Richard Uvedale, governor of Yarmouth castle, in the Isle of Wight, is convicted of treason<sup>i</sup>, April 21, and executed April 28.

A commission granted to Bonner and others (Sept. 23) to search for and collect all records of the visitations of the monasteries, and deliver them to the cardinal, "that they might be disposed of as the queen should order<sup>k</sup>."

The abbey of Westminster formally re-established, Nov. 21; John Feckenham, or Howman, late dean of St. Paul's, is installed as abbot.

A.D. 1557. Cardinal Pole holds a visitation of the Universities, when English Bibles and books containing "heretical opinions" are destroyed. The body of Peter Martyr's wife is removed from its grave at Oxford, but re-interred through defect of legal evidence as to her creed; at Cambridge the bodies of Bucer and Fagius

and had held many important offices. He became clerk of the Star-chamber, then a privy councillor; also treasurer of the Court of Augmentations, master of the jewels, and warden of the mint. He was for awhile the keeper of the Princess Elizabeth, and dying in January, 1559, soon after her accession, he was buried in the chapel of his college.

<sup>k</sup> He had been appointed by the pope, by a bull dated Dec. 11, 1555.

<sup>i</sup> He had agreed not to oppose a threatened landing of Henry Dudley and others who had formerly fled to France, and to whom the plunder of the Exchequer (see p. 243) was intended to be sent. John Throckmorton was tried and executed with him.

<sup>k</sup> They appear to have been destroyed, as very few are now known to exist.

<sup>i</sup> She could not speak English, and therefore testimony as to her religious opinions was not procurable.



Arms of Trinity College, Oxford.

are taken up, their teaching testified to, and then burnt<sup>m</sup>, Feb. 6.

A commission issued, Feb. 8, to Bonner and others, to inquire rigorously concerning "devilish and clamorous persons," who spread seditious reports or brought in "heretical and seditious books;" they had also full power over those who neglected or contemned the Church ceremonies, and "vagabonds and masterless men<sup>n</sup>."

Osep Napea, the first ambassador from Russia, arrives in London, Feb. 28<sup>o</sup>, and makes a commercial treaty.

St. John's College, Oxford, founded, by Sir Thomas White<sup>p</sup>, March 5.

The queen declares war against France, in support of her husband Philip<sup>q</sup>, June 7.

<sup>m</sup> This revolting act seems to have been forced on Pole's commissioners by the bigotry of the bishop of Chester (Cuthbert Scott) and some members of the University.

<sup>n</sup> They were empowered to fine, imprison, or "otherwise punish," at their pleasure; charges of "heretical acts or opinions" they were to remit to the spiritual courts. These commissioners became exceedingly odious, as they were looked on as the precursors of the establishment of the Inquisition.

<sup>o</sup> He had left Archangel, July 28, 1556, in a ship belonging to the English merchants (see p. 239), but suffered shipwreck on the coast of Scotland, where Richard Chancellor, his conductor, was drowned.

<sup>p</sup> He was a Muscovy merchant, who had been twice lord mayor of London, and was knighted for his services in suppressing Wyatt's rebellion. His foundation occupies the site of St Bernard's College, an educational establishment of the Cistercians, founded by Archbishop Chicheley. Sir Thomas White died in 1567, and was buried in the chapel of his college; his funeral oration was delivered by Edmund Campion, afterwards the celebrated Jesuit.

<sup>q</sup> Philip had long before endeavoured to induce the queen to take this step, but she declined it until her states were attacked by a force fitted out by the refugees in France. Thomas Stafford landed with a party in Yorkshire, and seized Scarborough castle, April 25; he issued a proclamation reviling the queen, and styling himself protector of the kingdom. He was soon captured and brought to Lon-



Arms of St. John's College, Oxford.



The Spaniards defeat the French at St. Quentin, Aug. 10, being assisted by some English troops.

The French incite the Scots to invade England.

The order of knights of St. John of Jerusalem re-established<sup>r</sup>; Sir Thomas Tresham made lord prior of England, Nov. 30.

A.D. 1558. The French, under the duke of Guise, invest Calais. The castles of Newenham bridge and Ruysbank are abandoned, Jan. 3; the duke then besieges the castle of Calais, which surrenders, Jan. 6; the town capitulates the next day<sup>a</sup>. The French then advance to Guines, which, after a stout defence by Lord Grey, is taken, Jan. 21, and the only remaining fort in Hammes

don, where, with five of his associates, he was tried, May 22 and 25; they all pleaded guilty (one, John Sherlles, a Frenchman, at first pleaded not guilty, but retracted his plea); Stafford was beheaded on Tower-hill, and three others executed at Tyburn (Stowell, Proctor, and Bradford) May 28; Sherlles and Saunders were pardoned.

<sup>a</sup> See p. 190.

• Lord Wentworth and fifty others were to remain as prisoners; the rest of the English, about 4,000 in number, were to go where they would. The French at once entered the town, "and forthwith," says Grafton, "all the men, women, and children were commanded to leave their houses, and to go unto certain places appointed for them, there to remain till order were further taken for their sending away. The places appointed for them to remain in were chiefly four, the two churches of Our Lady and St. Nicholas, the deputy's house, and the Staple, where they rested part of that day, the night following, and the next day till the afternoon. And while they were thus in these four places, proclamation was made in their hearings, straitly charging them that were inhabitants of the town of Calais, having about them any money, plate, or jewels, to the value of fourpence, to bring the same forthwith, and lay it on the high altars of the said churches upon pain of death, bearing them in hand they should be searched. By reason of which proclamation there was made a sorrowful offering; and while they were at this offering in the churches, the Frenchmen rifled their houses, where they found inestimable riches and treasure." After this the English were expelled from the town, in several parties, but they were kindly treated by the Scottish horsemen in the duke's army, who guarded them through the French camp, and protected them from the insolence of the victors.

being abandoned the same night, the English are entirely expelled from France.

The loss of Calais occasions great discontent. Philip offers to assist in recovering it, but the queen's council plead inability to bear the expense of the attempt.

The parliament meets, Jan. 20, and sits till March 7.

The French defeated at Gravelines, July 13, by the Spaniards, assisted by an English fleet.

A fleet sent against France, under Lord Clinton, burns Conquet, in Brittany, (July 29,) but though joined by some Spanish ships, does not venture, as was intended, to attack Brest.

Conferences for peace between England, France, and Spain opened at Cambray, in October.

The queen, who had been long in bad health, dies at St. James's, Nov. 17; she is buried in Henry VII.'s chapel, Westminster abbey, Dec. 13<sup>t</sup>.

\* The bishop of Winchester (John White) preached her funeral sermon; his text was, "I praised the dead which are already dead more than the living which are yet alive;" and giving offence by speaking warmly in her praise, and condemning the projected alterations in religion, he was confined to his house until the meeting of the parliament.



Elizabeth, from her Great Seal.

## ELIZABETH.

**ELIZABETH**, the only surviving child of Henry VIII. by Anne Boleyn, was born at the palace of Placentia (Greenwich), September 7, 1533. In her third year she was deprived of her mother, and was also declared illegitimate; but in 1544 she was conditionally restored; and from that time until the death of Edward VI. she was apparently well treated. She joined her sister Mary in opposing the usurpation of Lady Jane Grey, and accompanied the queen on her entry into London. Little cordiality, however, could be expected to subsist between them; Elizabeth was looked upon as the hope of the Protestant party, and, being suspected of favouring the rebellion of Wyatt, she was sent to the Tower, but after a short time was released, probably by the desire of Philip of Spain; she was, however, soon placed under restraint again, and dwelt in a confinement more or less

rigorous, according to the various tempers of her different keepers<sup>a</sup>, until called to the throne by the death of Mary, Nov. 17, 1558.

It was the general expectation of both friends and foes that Elizabeth would restore the public profession of Protestantism, and she at once proceeded to do so. Her principal adviser was William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burghley<sup>b</sup>), who took his measures with so much address that all opposition was borne down, and an apparent conformity brought about with very little trouble. The Protestant Church was re-established, but it needed all the firmness of three successive primates (Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift), to prevent it being reduced to a mere creature of the State,—a scheme most agreeable

<sup>a</sup> Of these, Sir Thomas Pope is said to have been the most indulgent, and Sir Henry Bedingfield the most severe.

<sup>b</sup> He remained her prime minister until his death, and to him is due more properly than to the queen, the praise or blame of the most important transactions of her reign. He was born in 1520, his father being master of the robes to Henry VIII. He was educated at Cambridge, and was a diligent student; he was intended for the law, but attracted the attention of the king, and became a courtier. Cecil served in the Scottish war under the protector Somerset; became secretary of state to Edward VI.; so temporized in the matter of Lady Jane Grey, as not to be committed with either party; and complied with the change of religion under Mary. On Elizabeth's accession he again professed Protestantism, and drew up "a device for alteration of religion," in which he recommended a systematic discouragement of all who had been in authority under Queen Mary, and supplying their place with "men meaner in substance and younger in years," the involving the clergy in a præmunire, and "a sharp law" against popular assemblies. The plan was adopted, and at first seemed successful; but many men were found, both Romanists and Puritans, who refused to follow his example of sacrificing their consciences to every change of government; nor could the many "sharp laws" that were devised by him bring them to conformity. In the midst of the cares of state, Cecil was not neglectful of his own interest. He was ennobled, as Lord Burghley, in 1571, and afterwards made lord high treasurer; and he succeeded in raising a vast estate, great part of it, as was too usual with the courtiers of the Tudors, wrung by way of inequitable exchange from the Church. He died Aug. 4, 1598.

to the arbitrary temper of the queen, who entertained as high ideas of her ecclesiastical supremacy as Henry VIII. had ever done.

Elizabeth's relations with foreign powers were, during the whole course of her reign, surrounded with difficulties connected with the subject of religion. At her accession the reigning pope (Paul IV.) refused to acknowledge her title; Philip of Spain professed personal regard, but gave it to be understood that he could only continue in friendship with her if she continued a Catholic; the king of France (Henry II.) induced his daughter-in-law, Mary of Scotland, to assume the style and arms of queen of England: on the other hand, the Protestants of France, Scotland, and the Netherlands looked to her for support against the tyranny of their sovereigns, as well in civil as religious matters. Whatever her own intentions may have been, the "Machiavel-governance<sup>c</sup>" of her ministers only aggravated the troubles of other countries; their arts were retorted by men as unscrupulous as themselves, and many determined attempts were made both against her government and her life, but all their efforts were signally unsuccessful<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Such is the term used by Archbishop Parker, in letters to Cecil, as fittest to describe the secret favour given by members of the government to both Romanists and Puritans whom the bishops were compelled to coerce.

<sup>d</sup> Most of these plots were foiled by the sagacity of Sir Francis Walsingham, who was for many years secretary of state, and who, by foreign travel, had imbibed much of the dark and dangerous policy of his opponents. He was born at Chiselmhurst, in Kent, in 1536; was educated at King's College, Cambridge; became an accomplished linguist, and was employed on the most important embassies to France and Scotland. He was rewarded with the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster, but he was not a favourite with Elizabeth, for he belonged to the Puritan party, and, unlike his patron Burghley, he remained a poor man. He died April 6, 1590.

Elizabeth sent aid to the French Protestants on several occasions, but without any very important results. Her interference in Scotland was of a more decided character, the affairs of that country being in reality directed by her ministers. Mainly by their intrigues the ill-advised, unhappy, but probably not guilty Mary<sup>e</sup>, was driven from her throne. She sought shelter in England; and though she found instead a prison, and eventually a violent death, her coming had most important consequences, for the Romanists, who had hitherto yielded an apparent conformity to the English service, now very generally abandoned it, and looked to foreign powers for support, which they hoped to obtain by her means, and in return many shewed themselves ready to accept her as queen.

The Romanists had, indeed, some time before begun to decline attendance at church, moved by the exhortations of William Allen<sup>f</sup> and other priests who had gone abroad on the re-establishment of the English Liturgy, but about 1563 had ventured to return, and spread among them a censure of the Council of Trent on such conformity. Allen, too, founded a seminary at Douay<sup>g</sup>,

\* The guilt or innocence of the Scottish queen has frequently been made almost a national question, and innumerable writers have employed their powers upon it; all their researches, however, only confirm the propriety of the remark of a cotemporary (Camden), who says, "There are many suspicions, but no proofs."

<sup>f</sup> He was born in Lancashire in 1532; he studied at Oxford, was principal at St. Mary's Hall there, in the time of Mary, and withdrew to the continent on her death. He resided principally in Flanders, and is accused of being deeply engaged in the various plots against Elizabeth. He was made a cardinal in 1587, wrote an Admonition in favour of the projected Spanish invasion, was rewarded by Philip with the archbishopric of Mechlin, and died in 1594.

<sup>g</sup> The college was dedicated to St. Thomas Becket; it subsisted till the first French revolution, when the members removed to Eng-

to which the young men of their best families were sent, where many became priests, and where all appear to have imbibed opinions certainly hostile to the queen's ecclesiastical supremacy, and little favourable to her civil government. Severe laws were in consequence enacted, but they rather irritated than subdued the body against which they were directed ; and, though near 200 Jesuits and other priests and their adherents suffered as traitors, the enterprise they had set before themselves, of endeavouring to restore Romanism, was never abandoned<sup>h</sup>.

Troubles had before arisen in another direction, and, being unwisely met, grew every day more serious. Many learned and pious men were from the first dissatisfied with certain points in the discipline of the Church, which to them savoured too much of Romanism, though fairly defensible on the grounds of decency and order<sup>i</sup>. It was attempted to overcome such scruples by depriving some of the more eminent of them of their preferments ;

land, and established a house which still subsists at Old Hall Green, near Standon, in Hertfordshire ; the patron saint, however, was changed to Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury. Other seminaries for the English were in the course of a few years established at Reims, St. Omer, Rome, Paris, Madrid, and elsewhere, the members of which took an oath to return to England, when ordered by their superiors, "to convert the souls of their countrymen and kindred."

<sup>h</sup> Campion, the Jesuit, one of the earliest papal missionaries, wrote thus to the queen's council : " Be it known unto you, that we have made a league, all the Jesuits in the world, whose succession and multitude must overreach all the practices of England, cheerfully to carry the cross that you shall lay upon us, and never to despair your recovery, while we have a man left to enjoy your Tyburn, or to be racked by your torments, or to be consumed by your prisons. Expenses are reckoned, the enterprise is begun ; it is of God, it cannot be withstood. So the faith was planted, so must it be restored."

<sup>i</sup> The principal matters objected to at first were the vestments, the use of music, and bowing and kneeling ; but afterwards episcopacy was attacked, and attempts were perseveringly made to substitute the presbyterian form of Church government.

but this only induced them to form separate congregations, which at length became the objects of the rigour of the laws equally with the Romanists. Many of the Puritans, as they came to be contemptuously termed, had been exiles in the time of Mary, and they had imbibed abroad a democratic spirit, which soon extended itself among their party, and rendered them willing to proceed to any lengths against the Church. They were favoured, from interested motives, by the unprincipled Leicester<sup>k</sup> and others, but firmly repressed by the queen, who perceived that, humanly speaking, the Church and the State must stand or fall together.

The Puritans had no support from abroad, and, though violent in language, were too weak to do more than inspire uneasiness. The Romanists, on the other hand,

<sup>k</sup> Robert Dudley was a younger son of the duke of Northumberland. He joined in the attempt to set Lady Jane Grey on the throne, seized the town of King's Lynn, and proclaimed her there, for which he was tried, Jan. 22, 1554; he pleaded guilty, but his life was spared, and he received a pardon the following year (Easter term, 1555); he went abroad, and served at the battle of St. Quentin. By Elizabeth he was created, on the same day, first Lord Denbigh, then earl of Leicester, received many important posts, and was treated with such peculiar favour that she was generally supposed to entertain a design of marrying him. In 1585 he was sent, with almost regal powers, into the Low Countries, but greatly injured their cause by his insolence and incapacity; yet in 1588 he was made generalissimo of the army raised to oppose the Spaniards. He died in the same year (Sept. 4), not without suspicion of poison. He professed an adherence to the rigid doctrines of the Puritans, but was in truth an execrable character. He was three times married; he was suspected of murdering his first wife (Amy Robsart), whom he wedded June 4, 1550; and he disowned the second (Lady Douglas Howard), but left by her a son, Sir Robert Dudley, who lived abroad, and, being a favourite of the emperor, Ferdinand II., styled himself duke of Northumberland; he died at Florence in 1650.



Arms of Dudley, earl of Leicester.



had the active help of successive popes (particularly Sixtus V.<sup>1</sup>), and of Philip of Spain, the most potent prince of his time. They made one feeble attempt at rebellion in England, but Ireland was for years the scene of a desolating war, the funds for which were supplied by Philip; and he engaged in a futile attempt at the conquest of England; its result was the destruction of his fleet, and the exposure of his own shores to every injury that a naval war could inflict<sup>m</sup>.

Elizabeth took a lively interest in the affairs of France, as well as in those of the Netherlands; and her help, though often grudgingly bestowed<sup>n</sup>, had a most important effect in establishing Henry IV. on the throne, and in raising up the United Provinces. Scotland was so much under her influence that it rather resembled a turbulent province of her realm than an independent

<sup>1</sup> Pius V. issued a bull (April 25, 1570), pronouncing the queen excommunicated and deposed, the only effect of which was to bring down ruin on the few who attempted to execute it, and to cause the enactment of rigorous laws against the whole body of Romanists. Sixtus V. fulminated a similar bull, but he supported it by an invasion of Ireland at his own cost, and by inducing Philip to send his Armada against England.

<sup>m</sup> Spain itself was thus harassed after the destruction of the Armada, Cadiz being taken by the earl of Essex in 1596, but the English seamen, long before as well as after that event, carried on a destructive warfare against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. It is difficult to defend their proceedings by any laws now recognised among nations, and Philip always stigmatized them as piracy.

<sup>n</sup> She had, in the early part of her reign, good reason to complain of the ingratitude of the French Protestants; they urgently solicited her aid, but soon after came to an agreement with their opponents, and shamelessly joined them in expelling her troops, their great leader, the prince of Condé, even taking the command at the siege of Havre. The Scots and the Netherlanders adhered with honourable firmness to their engagements, and thus succeeded in maintaining their religious freedom; while the French, who deserted their allies, were in their turn deserted by their own leaders, and utterly ruined.

kingdom ; her ministers controlled everything, and, though they had fomented the troubles that rendered the rule of its king (James VI.) almost nominal, when they saw that he was destined for Elizabeth's successor, they paid such obvious court to him as embittered her declining years°. Ireland was in reality a foreign country, where her treasures were exhausted in contending, with but a very moderate share of success, against the arts and arms of the popes and the king of Spain ; its disturbed state prevented the following up with the necessary vigour the measures proper to recommend the reformed doctrines to the people, and from this fact the most lamentable consequences have ensued.

At home, for many years, Elizabeth was harassed by plots against her life, some real, some imaginary<sup>p</sup> ; the unjustifiable death of Mary did not lessen her anxieties ; the Puritans gave her deep uneasiness by the freedom of their attacks on the Church ; her chief favourite, Leicester, was undeserving her esteem ; his successor, Essex, provoked an untimely fate, and the queen at length died, worn out as much with grief and anxiety as age, March 24, 1603, and was buried in the chapel of Henry VII., in Westminster Abbey.

° The younger Cecil and Raleigh especially courted his favour ; both were unprincipled men, but Cecil was probably the worst. He is suspected of having contrived the strange plot in which Raleigh was involved, and he is thought to have been privy to the proceedings of Catesby and his associates, but to have suffered them to proceed unmolested, in order to secure the forfeiture of their estates.

<sup>p</sup> Of the various plotters, Parry, it would seem, never intended more than to obtain money ; probably the same may be said of Squire ; Babington's conspiracy was known from the very outset to her ministers, and guarded against ; the attempt of Lopez, the physician, to poison her at the instigation of Spain, has the appearance of truth, and was very probably real.

Though Elizabeth was never married, the numerous negotiations into which she entered on that subject form an important feature of her reign. It is probable that her affections were really given to Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, although state reasons prevented her accepting him for a husband. She fed with delusive hopes others of her subjects, as Sir William Pickering and Henry Fitzalan, earl of Arundel; she listened with apparent complacency to Eric, king of Sweden; to the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria; and to a French prince who bore successively the titles of duke of Alençon and of Anjou. Perhaps she never intended to give her hand to any of them, but the apprehensions of her subjects were raised as to the French match, and one Puritan (Thomas Stubbe, a lawyer, and brother-in-law of Cartwright,) published a pamphlet, entitled, "The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf," in which he gave vent to remonstrances with a freedom that was highly resented and severely punished.

Elizabeth bore the same arms as her father and brother, but occasionally she employed a white greyhound for the sinister supporter. Her motto was "DIEU ET MON DROIT," and sometimes "SEMPER EADEM." Her badge is a Tudor rose, with the motto, "ROSA SINE SPINA;" she likewise used the badge of her mother, Anne Boleyn.



Arms of Elizabeth.



Badges of Elizabeth.

The reign of Elizabeth is a very memorable era under every aspect in which the state of a nation can be considered. In religion, the reform that her father had begun was accomplished, not so completely as could be wished, for the governors of the Church met with opposition at every step from the Puritans, but still in a degree that should be ever thankfully remembered. Literature flourished as it had never done before, and works were produced, both in theology and on secular subjects, which it may be reasonably concluded will endure as long as the English language itself. Archbishop Parker<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Matthew Parker was born at Norwich in 1504, and was educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he studied in company with Ridley, Cecil, Nicholas Bacon, and others, and, like them, imbibed the opinions of the reformers. He became chaplain to Anne Boleyn, but on her death returned to Cambridge, where he was chosen master of his college, and twice served the office of vice-chancellor. He was expelled on the accession of Mary, and lived in retirement during her reign; but when his friend Cecil became Elizabeth's minister, Parker was by him brought forward, and induced, though reluctantly, to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury. This high station he filled with dignity, providing such men as Grindal, Sandys, and Jewel to occupy the vacant sees; opposing the designs of the courtiers on the property of the Church; extending a liberal patronage to learning, and cultivating it himself; settling the service and vestments of the ministers on a scale of decent splendour; and, though presenting a firm front to the intemperate zeal of some among the returned Marian exiles, ever desirous of conciliating them by Christian charity. He died May 17, 1575, and was buried at Lambeth; his remains were disturbed during the Civil War, but they were again collected and interred by Archbishop Sheldon.

was a munificent patron of learning, and preserved many valuable records that might otherwise have perished; Jewel<sup>\*</sup> and Hooker<sup>\*</sup> defended the religious changes that had been effected against the Romanists, as did Whitgift against the Puritans; and Shakspeare, Spenser, Sydney, and Buckhurst, not to mention minor names, displayed the poetic riches of their native tongue. In other matters most important progress was made. The credit of the nation was re-established by the withdrawal of the base coinage of former sovereigns; new branches

<sup>\*</sup> John Jewel was a native of Devon, and was born in 1522. He was educated at Merton College, Oxford, was a most laborious student, and embraced with eagerness the doctrines of the reformers, attaching himself particularly to Peter Martyr, whose lectures he took down in short-hand. On the accession of Mary the fellows of his college expelled him on their own authority; but he continued in the university, and was weak enough to recant his opinions; soon repenting of this unhappy step, he resigned his archdeaconry of Chichester, and fled to Germany, where he made a public confession of his fault. He lived chiefly with his friend Peter Martyr, laboured to compose the differences on points of discipline which broke out among the English exiles, visited Italy, and, returning to his native country, took an active part in the disputation at Westminster in the year 1559. The next year he was raised to the see of Salisbury, and died September 23, 1571, worn out by his earnest endeavours to discharge every duty of his office; though an invalid, he travelled unceasingly through his diocese, and he preached within a few days of his death. Bishop Jewel had a principal part in the revision of the Articles of Religion, and his famous *Apology* has ever been esteemed a masterpiece both in matter and manner.

<sup>\*</sup> Richard Hooker, a native of Devonshire, was born in 1554. He found a patron in Bishop Jewel, was educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and, after some minor preferments, became master of the Temple. Here he was involved in a painful controversy with the lecturer, Walter Travers, a Puritan; but this, in its result, was a matter of joy to all who adhere to the unity of the Church, free alike from papal as from puritan innovations; for it led him to produce his matchless work on *Ecclesiastical Polity*. His humble and lowly spirit induced him to confine himself to his living of Bishopsbourne, in Kent, though his services to the Church would have commanded its highest dignities, and there he died, Nov. 2, 1600. His *Life*, penned by Izaak Walton, is one of the most delightful pieces of biography in the English language.

of industry were introduced by foreign refugees; the spirit of the people was kept alive by the favour with which bold and costly enterprises for the furtherance of trade and commerce were regarded; Hawkins, Drake, Forbisher, Cavendish, and other hardy navigators, displayed

“ Her cross, triumphant on the main,  
The guard of commerce, and the dread of Spain ;”

and Elizabeth's reign witnessed the beginnings of two of the most wonderful empires of the world, the English East India Company and the United States of North America.

But the era so full of benefits for posterity was very far from a quiet or a happy one for the people of its own time. The government was a pure despotism<sup>t</sup>, both in Church and State, the Courts of High Commission and of Star Chamber being the great instruments of government, and their proceedings not controlled, when any reason of state interfered, by any rules of law or equity. A large proportion of the people, either as Romish or as Protestant nonconformists, lived exposed to penalties and restrictions that would at the present day be justly regarded as unbearable; the law of treason was strained so as to include very trifling offences, and its barbarous penalties were inflicted to the very letter<sup>u</sup>, while torture

<sup>t</sup> “ We, of our prerogative royal, which we will not have argued nor brought in question,” is the phrase employed by Elizabeth in a patent, dated May 10, 1591, which grants protection from all suits for debt for both person and property to an Irish noble (Patrick lord Dunsany) and a London gentleman (John Mathewe); if any suit should be commenced, the judges of the different courts are directed to stay it, “ without other warrant than the sight of these our letters patent or the inrolment thereof.”

<sup>u</sup> These penalties, which the humane Henry VI. pronounced “ too grievous to be done unto any Christian creature,” were, as appears from the record of each conviction, as follows: the prisoners were

was commonly employed to extort confessions<sup>x</sup>. The state of the Church was not more satisfactory. The queen's council was mainly composed of the new nobility and gentry, who had already gained so much of its property, but who were desirous to obtain still more. As a means to this end they encouraged the Puritans to bring forward their "platform," or "godly discipline," the success of which would have placed all the bishops' lands at their disposal; but the firmness of Parker and Whitgift defeated the scheme, although they could not prevent the sees on each vacancy from being plundered to a greater or less extent to gratify the hungry courtiers.

The character by which Elizabeth is ordinarily known is manifestly exaggerated in some particulars and false in others. Quite as learned, and quite as imperious as her father, she yet suffered herself to be guided by a few

to be drawn on hurdles to the place of execution (that is, in many cases, from the Tower or Newgate to Tyburn) and hanged, then cast down to the ground by cutting the rope, and their bowels drawn out of their bellies and burnt, *they living*; then their heads cut off and their bodies divided into four quarters, and their heads and quarters to be disposed of at the queen's pleasure. The heads were usually placed on spikes in some conspicuous situation, as the tower on London bridge; the quarters were generally buried, but sometimes they were steeped in pitch and exposed. One sufferer (Dr. Story) is related to have struggled with and struck the executioner who disembowelled him; many others are mentioned as "groaning heavily" under his hands.

<sup>x</sup> Torture was allowed to be contrary to law, but it was sanctioned by prerogative. The courts, however, thought themselves authorized to pass sentences of almost incredible barbarity; as one instance, we find (March 2, 1571) one Timothy Penredd, who had forged the seal of the king's bench, adjudged to stand on the pillory in Cheapside on two successive market days, "and on the first of such days he is to have one ear nailed to the pillory, and on the second day his other ear nailed to the pillory, and in such a manner that he, the said Timothy, shall, *by his own proper motion, be compelled to tear away his two ears from the pillory.*"

chosen ministers, who, for their own ends, strove successfully against the natural fickleness of her temper, and kept her the head of the Protestant party, but also led her to consent to many acts that bear heavily on her memory. She usually receives the credit of the able policy of her statesmen, and therefore ranks high as a sovereign, but her personal character had many grievous defects. Though she early in her reign professed an intention to live and die a virgin queen, she gave encouragement to worthless favourites hardly consistent with the declaration; she indulged in boundless expense for splendid dress, though in more important matters her parsimony was often carried to an unwise extreme; the language which her favourites, and even her parliaments, used towards her shew that no flattery could be too gross for her; on many occasions she descended to the meanest dissimulation; her bursts of passion were extravagant, and accompanied by oaths and blows; and an innate cruelty of disposition unmistakably appears in her treatment of her near kinswomen, Lady Katherine Grey<sup>7</sup> and Mary of Scotland.

<sup>7</sup> Her treatment of Mary is but too well known; the unhappy fate of Katherine is not so frequently alluded to. She was a younger sister of Lady Jane Grey, and having been married in May, 1558, to Lord Herbert, was divorced by him a short time after, on the fall of her family, and apparently for no other reason. She lived unmolested during the reign of Mary, but about 1561, venturing to marry Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford (son of the Protector), without asking the royal license, she and her husband were committed to the Tower; Hertford was heavily fined, on the charge of "corrupting a princess of the blood," the marriage was annulled in the ecclesiastical court by virtue of the queen's prerogative, and Katherine died after a ten years' imprisonment. On her death, Hertford was liberated, and lived till 1621; the legality of his marriage had previously been established by the ordinary courts, and he was succeeded by his grandson, who suffered very similarly to himself for an attempt to marry the unhappy Lady Arabella Stuart.



A.D. 1558. The princess Elizabeth is proclaimed queen by the lords of the council, Nov. 17; she enters London, amid great rejoicings, Nov. 24, and releases all persons confined on account of religion.

The queen retains her sister's councillors, but adds to their number Sir William Cecil, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and other Protestants.

The Service-book of King Edward is set up in some places without authority; many of the Protestant refugees return from abroad, and angry controversial sermons are preached; priests are insulted and hindered in their ministration.

The queen, by proclamation (Dec. 27), forbids all unlicensed preaching, as also the elevation of the host; she allows the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Ten Commandments, and Litany, to be used in English.

A.D. 1559. The queen is crowned at Westminster, Jan. 13, by Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle.

The parliament meets, Jan. 21, and sits till May 8.

The "ancient jurisdiction of the crown over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual" restored, and "all foreign power repugnant to the same" abolished, [1 Eliz. c. 1]. By this act the general repeal of statutes affecting religion by the act of Philip and Mary [1 & 2 Phil. & Mar. c. 8] was abrogated; all spiritual jurisdiction was united to the crown, in virtue of which the Court of High Commission was established; and all ministers and officers, spiritual and temporal, were bound to take an oath, acknowledging the queen as "the only supreme governor of the realm . . . as well in spiritual or eccle-

siastical things or causes as temporal," and renouncing "all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities; or authorities," under pain of forfeiture of present office and disability to hold any other. Persons maintaining, "by express words, deed, or act," the authority of any foreign prince or prelate, were to forfeit their goods, or, if they were under £20 value, to suffer a year's imprisonment for the first offence; to incur a *præmanire*<sup>a</sup> for the second; and to be executed as traitors for the third. The oath above mentioned was to be tendered to every person within thirty days after the close of the session.

The last Service-book of King Edward (as established in 1552<sup>a</sup> confirmed with some alterations<sup>b</sup>, [1 Eliz. c. 2].

The queen's title to the crown recognised in general terms<sup>c</sup>, [c. 3].

First-fruits and tenths again vested in the crown, [c. 4]. "The late queen," the statute says, had given up these funds "upon certain zealous and inconvenient respects," although they had been willingly paid by the clergy for many years; and they were now restored to lessen "the huge, immeasurable, and inestimable charges of the royal estate."

Various new treasons created; among them, denying the queen's title, [c. 5].

The queen empowered to "reserve to herself" the

<sup>a</sup> See vol. i. p. 418.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 219.

<sup>c</sup> The revision was the work of a committee of divines, Parker, Grindal and others, most of whom were shortly after advanced to the episcopate.

<sup>d</sup> The terms of this act offer a striking contrast to those of the statute [1 Mar. sess. 2, c. 1] by which the title of Mary had been asserted and the honour of her mother vindicated.

bishops' lands, giving them impropriate titles instead, [c. 19].

Queen Mary's foundations suppressed, and their possessions vested in the crown, [c. 24].

Peace is concluded with France, April 2; Calais remains in the hands of the French<sup>d</sup>.

Whilst the parliament sat, the clergy were assembled in convocation, and, although warned by a message from the queen, drew up a document asserting the real presence, the supremacy of the see of Rome, and the exclusive right of the Church to treat of doctrine, the sacraments, and the orders of public worship. In consequence a disputation was held in Westminster Abbey (March 31 and April 3) before the Houses of Parliament, and under the presidency of Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper. The bishops of Carlisle, Chester, Lichfield, Lincoln, and Winchester, with Drs. Chedsey, Cole, Harpsfield, and Langdale, appeared on one side; and Scory (late bishop of Chichester), Aylmer, Cox, Grindal, Guest, Horne, Jewel, Sandes, and Whitehead on the other. The Protestants put in papers condemning the use of an unknown tongue in the public service of the Church; asserting that each Church had a right to regulate rites and ceremonies; and denying that the mass was a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead. Dr. Cole argued against these propositions, and was answered by Horne, whose reply was so greatly ap-

<sup>d</sup> Hostages and bonds for 500,000 crowns were placed in Elizabeth's hands, and a promise was made to restore the town in eight years, if no act of hostility was committed in the mean time; the queen, however, sent aid to the Protestants, both in France and Scotland, and thus gave an excuse for not fulfilling the promise, which probably was never intended to be kept.

plauded, that the bishops desired to add something to Cole's speech, which it was agreed they should do at the next meeting. They then, however, had changed their minds, and refused to proceed with the disputation, on which the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester "were condignly committed to the Tower of London," and the rest of their party (except the abbot of Westminster) ordered to appear daily at the council table, to answer for their "disorders, stubbornness, and self-will<sup>e</sup>."

Thomas, lord Wentworth, is tried before the marquis of Northampton and his peers for the treasonable surrender of Calais, and acquitted, April 22<sup>d</sup>.

The new Book of Common Prayer is first publicly used, June 24.

Injunctions issued by the queen requiring the clergy to "use and wear such seemly habits, garments, and such square caps as were most commonly and orderly received in the latter year of the reign of King Edward VI.<sup>s</sup>"

About this time the oath of supremacy was offered to the bishops, and refused by all except Kitchin, of Llan-

\* Such is the account published by Sir Nicholas Bacon, and several other councillors.

<sup>f</sup> He was tried on an indictment found July 2, 1558, in the time of Queen Mary, while he was still a prisoner in France. Edward Grimston, comptroller of Calais, was tried on similar charges, and also acquitted, Dec. 1; Sir Ralph Chamberlain, lieutenant of the castle of Calais, and John Harleston, lieutenant of the Ruysbank, were tried for surrendering their posts, and found guilty, Dec. 22, but they were pardoned.

<sup>g</sup> It was explained that it was not meant to attribute any "holiness or special worthiness" to these garments, but the greater part of the clergy who had been in exile disliked them, and many refused to wear them, which at length gave occasion to coercive measures, and these were followed by formal separation.

daff, and Stanley, of Sodor and Man<sup>h</sup>. Commissions were issued for a general visitation of the kingdom, to enforce the adoption of the reformed service, and it was attended with so much success that a very small number only of beneficed men surrendered their livings rather than comply<sup>i</sup>. The hierarchy, however, still remained incomplete, until near the end of the year, when Matthew Parker was prevailed on to accept the see of Canterbury<sup>k</sup>. He shortly after consecrated several other bishops, and a brief profession of doctrine was drawn up, to which all incumbents were obliged to signify their assent<sup>l</sup>.

## FRANCE AND SCOTLAND.

A.D. 1560. Elizabeth sends money, arms, and a fleet to the assistance of the Scottish Reformers, and also succours the Protestants in France.

Both France and Scotland were at this period oppressed by the overwhelming influence of the aspiring

<sup>h</sup> Ten sees were vacant; the holders of fifteen more either resigned or were deprived in the course of a short time after. Matthew Parker was consecrated as archbishop of Canterbury Dec. 17, 1559, and all the sees except Oxford were filled up before the end of 1562.

<sup>i</sup> The whole number, including the bishops, is variously stated at from 189 to 243, out of a body of nearly 10,000 individuals, but subsequent events proved that the compliance was in many cases insincere.

<sup>k</sup> He was, as appears from his official register, consecrated at Lambeth, Dec. 17, 1559, by the bishops Barlow, Coverdale, and Scory, and Hodgkins, suffragan of Bedford. Many years after a tale was brought forward by Romish writers of a so-called consecration of Parker at a tavern (the Nag's Head, in Cheapside), but it can only be regarded as a malignant invention.

<sup>l</sup> The new Prayer-book was declared agreeable to Scripture, the queen's supremacy acknowledged, the power of the pope disclaimed, the mass rejected, and pilgrimages, extolling of images, relics, and feigned miracles, condemned as vain superstitions.

family of Guise<sup>m</sup>, who were declared foes to the tenets of the Reformers. Francis, duke of Guise, who had gained great popularity by his conquest of Calais<sup>n</sup>, was directed by his brother the cardinal, and they were understood to aspire, the one to the throne, the other to the papacy. The king (Francis II.) and his queen (Mary of Scotland) were in their hands, and both too young and inexperienced to counteract their designs; their sister (Mary of Guise, widow of James V.) was regent of Scotland, and openly endeavoured to reduce that country to a mere province of France. She succeeded in marrying her daughter to the heir of the French throne, and they soon assumed the style and arms of sovereigns of France, Scotland and England. This was naturally resented by Elizabeth; she regarded it as an attempt to carry into execution the threat of the pope (Paul IV.), who had denounced her as incapable of succession without his sanction, and she found a ready means of warding off the danger by fanning the flame of civil war in Scotland, where a determined attempt was being made by the Protestant party to free their country

<sup>m</sup> The founder of the family was Claude, a younger son of René II., duke of Lorraine, who served in the wars of Francis I., and received in marriage Antoinette of Bourbon, the king's kinswoman. Of his numerous family, Francis, Charles, and Mary were the most conspicuous. Francis may be regarded as the instigator of the religious wars in France; he defeated the Protestants at Dreux, but was assassinated before Rouen soon after. His son Henry saw him fall, vowed hatred to the Reformers, and in concert with his brother, Louis, a cardinal, and Charles, duke of Mayenne, was for many years the actual ruler of France. He instigated and took part in the butchery of St. Bartholomew's day, formed the League, or Holy Union, with intent to seize the crown, and gained military possession of Paris; at length, in 1588, he was assassinated with his brother the cardinal, and the duke of Mayenne soon after abandoning the struggle, the civil war was brought to a close.

<sup>n</sup> See p. 247.

from French influence. The regent had brought over French troops, who strongly fortified Leith, and she took up her residence there. The Scots assailed the town in vain, were put to flight, and the lands of their leaders, who took the title of Lords of the Congregation, ravaged. They appealed to Elizabeth for aid, and she sent a land force under Lord Grey, and a fleet under William Winter, to assist them; the siege of Leith was again formed, the garrison made a desperate resistance, but were at length reduced to extremity of famine; the queen regent withdrew to Edinburgh, where she soon after died (June 10), and a treaty was concluded between Elizabeth and the Scots (July 6), which provided that all the French troops should leave Scotland, and that Mary and her husband should discontinue the use of the style and arms of sovereigns of England and Ireland<sup>o</sup>.

For the present Elizabeth's exertions in favour of the French Protestants were confined to remonstrances against the persecution they experienced, and complaints of the arrogance and sinister designs of the Guises; but eventually she sent the earl of Warwick (Ambrose Dudley) with a large force to Normandy, which had been overrun by the prince of Condé and other leaders of the Reformers, who had taken up arms professedly to save the young king (Charles IX.) from the tyranny of the Guises, but evidently from worse motives, as they obtained her assistance by the acknow-

<sup>o</sup> Mary refused to ratify this treaty; she alleged, with truth, that it was concluded without her authority; the title she was willing to renounce, but she feared that by abandoning the arms she might endanger her right to the eventual succession to the English throne.

ledgment of her right to the crown of France, an acknowledgment glaringly contrary to the laws of their country<sup>p</sup>, and which leaves an indelible stigma on their patriotism.

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A.D. 1560. The exiles at Geneva publish a revised translation of the Bible in English<sup>q</sup>.

The base money in circulation is called in, and money of just value issued instead<sup>r</sup>.

A.D. 1561. Mary returns to Scotland, landing at Leith, Aug. 19<sup>s</sup>.

A.D. 1562. The religious wars in France recommence. The duke of Guise attacks a Protestant congregation at Vassy, March 1. The Protestants take up arms, overrun Normandy, and apply to Elizabeth for assistance; she sends forces under the command of the earl of Warwick.

These forces took possession of Havre in September. They afforded important aid to the Protestants, but were unable to prevent the loss of Rouen, or that of the battle of Dreux (Dec. 19), in which the prince of Condé

<sup>p</sup> See vol. i. p. 381.

<sup>q</sup> This, generally termed the Geneva Bible, contained a preface and notes, in which both the doctrine and the discipline of Calvin were set forth; hence it was as popular with the Puritans as it was distasteful to the queen and the bishops. Archbishop Parker endeavoured to counteract it by procuring a new edition of Cranmer's Bible; eight prelates, as well as other learned men, were employed in the revision, and the work when published (in 1568) was commonly known as the Bishops' Bible; it is the foundation of the present authorized version.

<sup>r</sup> This was justly considered so important, that it is commemorated in the inscription on Elizabeth's tomb.

<sup>s</sup> Her husband (Francis II.) died Dec. 5, 1560, and she was regarded with jealous dislike by her mother-in-law, Katherine de Medicis.



was made prisoner. The duke of Guise was soon after assassinated at the siege of Orleans, (he died Feb. 24, 1563,) and a temporary pacification followed, (concluded at Amboise, March 19,) when the Protestants joined the German mercenaries of the court in expelling the English garrison. The town was fiercely attacked and desperately defended for more than two months (May 22 to July 28), when the garrison, worn out by pestilence<sup>t</sup>, surrendered on honourable terms<sup>u</sup>, but brought the plague with them to England, where it made fearful havoc, especially in London.

A.D. 1563. The parliament meets, Jan. 12.

An act passed against "fond and fantastical prophecies<sup>x</sup>," [5 Eliz. c. 15].

Persons practising "conjurations, enchantments, and witchcrafts," declared felons without benefit of clergy<sup>y</sup>, [c. 16].

The authority of the keeper of the great seal declared to be the same as that of the lord chancellor [c. 18].

The Bible and Book of Common Prayer ordered to be translated into Welsh, and divine service to be performed in that tongue in the places where it is commonly used, [c. 28].

<sup>t</sup> "The pestilence," says Stow, "slew daily great numbers of men, so that the streets lay even full of dead corpses not able to be removed by reason of the multitude that perished."

<sup>u</sup> The prisoners on both sides were released without ransom, and the English were to take with them all property belonging either to the queen or her subjects.

<sup>x</sup> Spreading prophecies founded on the armorial bearings of any person, or the days or seasons of the year, was rendered punishable with a year's imprisonment and £10 fine for the first offence, and imprisonment for life and forfeiture of goods for the second.

<sup>y</sup> If the witchcraft was not directed against the life of any one, imprisonment for life was the extreme penalty.

The expenses of the royal household settled at £40,027, 4s. 2½d. per annum, [c. 32].

The Articles of King Edward<sup>2</sup> are modified in the convocation, and reduced to their present number, thirty-nine, Jan. 29.

Edmund and Arthur Pole, and four others, are tried and convicted of high treason<sup>a</sup>, Feb. 26.

The parties in France are reconciled, and the English garrisons are expelled.

The council of Trent holds its last session, Dec. 3<sup>b</sup>.

The Romanists begin to withdraw abroad rather than attend the English service; the vestments and the ceremonies of the Church are at the same time denounced as antichristian by some of the clergy, and Protestant non-conformity commences.

A.D. 1564. The queen issues instructions to the archbishops and bishops to bring about a conformity, which they in vain attempt; the non-conformists gain

<sup>a</sup> See p. 217.

<sup>b</sup> The Poles were nephews of the cardinal. They were charged with a design to set Mary of Scotland on the throne, and to re-establish Romanism in England; Arthur was to be declared duke of Clarence, and Edmund was to marry the Scottish queen. Their associates were executed, but the Poles were imprisoned in the Tower until their deaths; their names occur several times on the wall of the Beauchamp tower, roughly cut, doubtless by the unhappy prisoners themselves, in one place at the end of a Latin inscription, importing, "He who sows in tears shall reap in joy." From this source we learn that Edmund Pole was alive in 1568, and was then in his 27th year.

<sup>c</sup> It had been in abeyance for the greater part of the time since its first assembling in 1545, and it at length separated with little other result than drawing up a creed in which the articles that had given most offence to the Reformers were systematically and authoritatively put forth as matters of faith. One decision of the council, condemning the occasional conformity of the Romanists, had very important consequences, and its acts are thus connected with English history.

the support of Dudley, earl of Leicester, and the bishops are unable to carry out their instructions.

Peace is concluded with France, in which no mention is made of the restoration of Calais<sup>c</sup>, April 1.

A.D. 1565. Sampson and Humphrey<sup>d</sup>, two of the most considerable of the non-conformists, are deprived of their preferments, June.

Mary of Scotland marries Henry, lord Darnley<sup>e</sup>, after many attempts on the part of Elizabeth and her ministers to prevent it, July 29.

Mary drives Murray and his associates from Scotland ; they repair to England, where they are received with apparent indignation by the queen.

Mary favours the Romanists, and allows the mass to be publicly celebrated.

Sir Henry Sydney is appointed lord-deputy of Ireland<sup>f</sup>, Oct. 13.

<sup>c</sup> See p. 265. The hostages placed in Elizabeth's hands were set at liberty in exchange for some of her agents who had been seized when the war broke out.

<sup>d</sup> They both belonged to Oxford : Sampson was dean of Christ Church ; Humphrey was Regius Professor of Divinity and master of Magdalen College. Humphrey eventually conformed, and died dean of Winchester ; Sampson refused compliance, but was allowed to receive some small preferment.

<sup>e</sup> He was the son of Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox, and grandson of Queen Margaret of Scotland by her second husband, Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus. Darnley was a tall, handsome youth, but of a weak, inconstant, and profligate character. He alternately sided with, and deserted the Protestant leaders, and met his death at their hands ; this seems certain, but very different views have been put forth by many distinguished writers on the more obscure question of the guilt or innocence of Mary in the matter.

<sup>f</sup> He held the office (with the exception of three years, 1571—1574) until 1578, and laboured zealously to advance the cause of the Reformation, but his efforts had little success. O'Neal in the north, and the earl of Desmond in the south and west of Ireland, carried on an almost perpetual war, and received supplies of both men and money from the king of Spain and the pope. At length O'Neal was assassinated, but Desmond protracted the contest for several years after the final recall of Sydney.

A.D. 1566. Darnley is gained over to the party of the Reformers.

David Rizzio is murdered by Darnley and his associates<sup>s</sup>, almost in the queen's presence, March 9; the confederates attempt to seize on the royal power, but are suddenly deserted by Darnley, and obliged to flee to England.

Murray and his friends are allowed to return to Scotland.

Mary pardons the murderers of Rizzio on the intercession of the earl of Bothwell<sup>h</sup>.

The Puritans publish books against the vestments and ceremonies; the circulation of the works is forbidden under heavy penalties<sup>i</sup>.

The parliament meets, Sept. 30.

The consecration of archbishops and bishops, as practised since the queen's accession, declared "good, lawful, and perfect<sup>j</sup>," [8 Eliz. c. 1].

<sup>s</sup> Among them were the lords Ruthven, Lindsay, and Morton.

<sup>h</sup> James Hepburn, the grandson of the first earl of that name (see p. 122), was one of the very few Scottish nobles who under all circumstances had adhered to Mary. He was warden of the marches, and of a most ambitious and daring character; he had become the queen's chief adviser, and exercised a most unhappy influence over her.

<sup>i</sup> The Stationers' company were directed to search for and seize such works. The authors were to be dealt with by the High Commission Court; booksellers were to forfeit 20s. for each copy, and printers to suffer imprisonment and be forbidden to follow their occupation any longer. These enactments utterly failed, and the press continued to be obnoxious, and even formidable, to the government.

<sup>j</sup> This statute was occasioned by an altercation between Horne, bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, the deprived bishop of London, then a prisoner in the Marshalsea. Horne indicted him for refusing the oath of supremacy; Bonner, on his trial, denied that Horne had been regularly consecrated, but as the rulers in those times wisely declined to allow such matters to be canvassed in the courts of law, the proceedings were stayed, and Bonner was allowed to end his days in the prison.

The corporation of the Trinity House empowered to erect and maintain beacons and sea-marks<sup>k</sup> [c. 13.]

Darnley again quarrels with Mary, and leaves the court. He refuses to be reconciled with her. Murray and others propose to procure a divorce, which she declines. Bothwell then undertakes to murder him, and a bond approving of the deed is drawn up and signed.

A.D. 1567. Mary and Darnley are apparently reconciled, Jan. He lies ill at a lone house, near Edinburgh, called the Kirk of Field, which is blown up, early in the morning of Feb. 10.

Bothwell, being publicly accused of the murder, is brought to trial. He appears surrounded by his friends in arms, and is at once acquitted, April 12. His partisans draw up a new bond, promising, in general terms, to support his views, April 20; when he seizes the queen, April 24, and compels her to marry him<sup>l</sup>, May 15.

A congregation of Protestant nonconformists is seized at Plumbers' hall, in London<sup>m</sup>, June 19.

The Scottish nobles take up arms, when Bothwell flees the country<sup>n</sup>, and Mary is obliged to resign the crown to her son, July 24; she is imprisoned at Lochleven, and Murray is made regent.

<sup>k</sup> Removing any steeples, trees, or other sea-marks, is rendered an offence punishable by a fine of £100, or outlawry.

<sup>l</sup> To prepare for this step, which Bothwell at least had long plotted for, he had divorced his wife (Jane Gordon, sister of the earl of Huntley).

<sup>m</sup> The party consisted of about 100, 15 of whom were seized and sent to prison for the night; on the following day they were examined before Bishop Grindal and others, who failed to reduce them to conformity.

<sup>n</sup> He lurked awhile on the Scottish coast, and then retired to Norway, where he was seized as a pirate, and where he died a madman several years after.

Mary escapes from her prison of Lochleven, May 2 ; she raises some troops, which are defeated at Langside (near Glasgow) May 13 ; she escapes into England, landing at Workington, in Cumberland, May 16°.

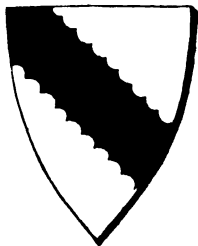
The English College at Douay is founded by William Allen.

Conferences held at York, before the duke of Norfolk<sup>†</sup>, the earl of Sussex<sup>‡</sup>, and other commissioners, at which the charges and counter-charges of Mary and the Scottish lords are brought forward, but nothing is determined. Mary, however, remains a prisoner, and plots begin to be formed for her liberation.

\* She wrote at once to Elizabeth, wishing to be allowed to come to the court, but this was refused, as was her next request, that she might be permitted to depart out of England. She was instead kept a prisoner, first at Carlisle, subsequently at Bolton, Tutbury, and other places.

† Thomas Howard, son of the accomplished earl of Surrey, executed by Henry VIII. (see p. 201). Mary's agents interested the duke in her favour, and led him afterwards into a plan of marriage with her, which eventually cost him his head.

‡ He was the great-grandson of Lord Fitzwalter, executed in 1494, (see p. 124). His father was one of the first to declare in favour of the Princess Mary, and he himself was employed in embassies by her. He held the office of deputy of Ireland, as also that of president of the Council of the North, in which capacity he promptly repressed the insurrection of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and ravaged the lands of their Scottish partisans. He was a very important person in Elizabeth's court, where he was lord-chamberlain, but lived in a constant rivalry with the earl of Leicester, against whom he warned his friends on his death-bed. "Beware of the Gipsy," he said, "for he will be too hard for you all ; you know not the beast so well as I do." Sussex died July 9, 1583, and was buried at Boreham, in Essex, where he had raised a stately monument, to which the bodies of several of his ancestors were removed. He was twice married, (one of his wives was aunt to Sir Philip Sydney,) but he left no issue, and was succeeded by his brother Robert.



Arms of Radcliff, earl of Sussex.

The duke of Alva (Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo), governor of the Netherlands, seizes the goods of the English merchants<sup>r</sup>; they remove their trade to Ham-burgh.

The pope (Pius V.) sends agents<sup>s</sup> into England, who denounce the queen as a heretic, and "fallen from her usurped authority."

The duke of Norfolk intrigues with them, and also corresponds with Mary; he is summoned to court, and sent to the Tower, Oct. 11.

The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland (Thomas Percy and Charles Neville) are also summoned to appear; instead, they take up arms, and proclaim their design of restoring the old religion<sup>t</sup>. They enter Durham, destroy the Bibles and Prayer-books in the minster, and set up the mass there and in other places. They advance southward into Yorkshire, but are obliged to retire before the royal forces under the earl of Sussex, and soon abandon their en-

<sup>r</sup> Alva was a bitter persecutor of the Protestants, thousands of whom sought shelter from his tyranny in England. A large sum of money sent to him from Spain being carried into English ports to escape capture from the French, a dispute arose about it; he ill used and drove out the English merchants, and afforded a refuge to the queen's enemies; she retaliated by assisting the Netherlanders to establish their independence.

<sup>s</sup> The most considerable of these was Nicholas Morton, formerly prebendary of York, but who had long held an office in the papal court. Philip of Spain was concerned in the plot, and placed large funds in the hands of Ridolfi, a Florentine merchant settled in London; and the duke of Alva sent the marquis of Cetona, an experienced soldier, under pretence of a commercial negotiation, to prepare for a projected invasion.

<sup>t</sup> On their banners were painted the five wounds of Christ, or a chalice, and Richard Norton, "an old gentleman with a reverend grey head," bore a cross with a streamer before them. The queen of Scots, whom they intended to release, was hastily carried from Tutbury to Coventry.

terprise. The earls escape<sup>a</sup>, but their followers are punished with extreme severity.

The rebellion commenced in the middle of November, and was completely crushed by the end of the year. Sir George Bowes, who had been obliged to surrender Barnard Castle to them, carried out martial law against the insurgents. An alderman and a priest, and above sixty others, were hanged by him in Durham alone, and, according to his own boast, many others suffered in every market town between Newcastle and Wetherby. Several gentlemen were executed at York, and others in London, but not, apparently, by martial law; and the earl of Sussex made a fierce inroad on Scotland, early in 1570, advancing as far as Dumfries on one side and Hawick on the other, burning and destroying the castles and towns of those who had given shelter to the fugitives. Another party was sent, later in the year, under Sir Drew Drury, which marched as far as Glasgow and Dumbarton, and supported the partisans of the young king against the friends of his mother. In this expedition some English fugitives were captured and executed.

<sup>a</sup> Northumberland fled to Scotland, and was sheltered awhile on the borders, but was afterwards given up by Morton, and executed at York, Aug. 22, 1572. Westmoreland escaped to the Netherlands, and lived on a pension of 200 crowns a month from the Spaniards. Egremont Radcliff, the half-brother of the earl of Sussex, was concerned in the rebellion, but escaped. After several years' wanderings he ventured to return to England, when he was imprisoned in the Beauchamp tower, where the inscription, "EAGREMOND RADCLYFFE, 1576," still remains. At length he was released, and again went abroad; he was soon after executed in the Netherlands for an attempt on the life of the Spanish governor, Don John of Austria, and declared to the last that he had been set at liberty by the influence of the secretary Walsingham for that purpose.



A.D. 1570. Leonard Dacre<sup>x</sup> also takes up arms in the north, but is defeated.

The regent Murray is assassinated at Linlithgow, Jan. 23; he is succeeded by the earl of Lenox, the father of Darnley. Mary's adherents ravage the English border.

The pope (Pius V.) publishes a bull or "sentence declaratory against Elizabeth, queen of England, and the heretics adhering unto her<sup>y</sup>," April 25.

This memorable document "contained, among other treasonable matter, the impious and most wicked declaratory sentence of the said bishop of Rome, in which he assumes and usurps power and authority within this kingdom of England; and the bishop of Rome, amongst other false and impious matter, declared that the queen was never at any time true queen of this kingdom of England, but only the pretended queen, and that she had been lawfully deprived of her royal authority. And by the said bull the pope absolved all the procures, subjects, and people of the realm of all oaths of fidelity and allegiance to the queen." A copy of it, "printed upon paper," was posted on the gate of the bishop of Lon-

<sup>x</sup> He was the uncle of Lord Dacre of Greystoke, who had been killed by accident shortly before. He offered his services against the insurgent earls, but they were declined, and after the insurrection had been crushed, he gathered some 3000 desperate borderers around him in Yorkshire, under the pretext of defending himself from the vengeance of their friends; he was summoned to lay down his arms, but refused, and was subdued with extreme difficulty by Lord Hunsdon. Dacre fled to Scotland, and ultimately to the Netherlands, where he died in poverty.

<sup>y</sup> The cause of issuing it is said to have been, the failure of the late insurrection, many of the northern gentry who were favourable to that rising having excused their not joining in it on the plea that the pope had not given a formal sanction to a war on the queen; this now was done in the most explicit manner.

don's palace, about eleven at night, on the 24th May, by John Felton, a gentleman, and Cornelius Irishman, a priest. Felton, from whose indictment the foregoing account is taken, was tried for high treason at Guildhall, August 4, and executed August 8.

Some gentlemen of Norfolk endeavour to raise an insurrection to release the duke; John Throckmorton and two others are executed.

The duke of Norfolk is set at liberty, Aug. 4, and sent to reside in his own house (the Charter-house, London) under the keeping of Sir Henry Neville.

The earl of Sussex makes another inroad in Scotland, burning and destroying the houses of the queen of Scotland and her friends<sup>a</sup>.

Cartwright<sup>a</sup>, a noted Puritan preacher, is expelled from Cambridge, Dec.

<sup>a</sup> Among others, they blew up the castle of Caerlaverock, which had been captured by Edward I. (see vol. i. p. 368.)

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Cartwright, a Hertfordshire man, born in 1535, was a laborious student of St. John's, Cambridge. During the reign of Mary he withdrew from the university, and supported himself by the occupation of a clerk. He returned on the accession of Elizabeth, and became a fellow of Trinity, but, disappointed as to further promotion, he soon after went to Geneva; he came back about 1568, thoroughly imbued with Calvinism, and receiving the appointment of Margaret Professor in 1570, declaimed with such vehemence not only against the vestments, but the hierarchy, that he was expelled in the same year. As the acknowledged head of the Puritan party, Cartwright carried on an angry controversy with Whitgift and others; but in 1573 he found it necessary to withdraw to the continent. He passed several years as chaplain of the English factory at Antwerp, and returning without permission, in 1585, was arrested, but soon released. He was now presented with the mastership of an hospital at Warwick by the earl of Leicester, and grew wealthy from the gifts of his friends. He, however, did not refrain from preaching and praying against the bishops; and, having presided as moderator at Puritan "national synods," he was in 1590 brought before the High Commission Court. He steadily refused to take the oath *ex-officio*, and was in consequence imprisoned until April, 1593, when he was released

A.D. 1571. The parliament meets April 2. Severe laws are passed against the Romanists; calling the queen heretic, schismatic, or usurper, was made treason [13 Eliz. c. 1]; as was the introduction of papal bulls [c. 2]; sending relief to the fugitives over sea was prohibited [c. 3]; the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and several other parties to the late rebellion, were attainted<sup>b</sup>, [c. 16].

The Puritans bring forward a bill for the abrogation of various religious ceremonies; they also propose a new confession of faith. The queen manifests her displeasure, and imprisons the mover (Mr. Strickland); at length an act is passed [c. 12] "to redress disorders touching ministers of the Church<sup>c</sup>."

An act for the attain of jurors giving corrupt verdicts<sup>d</sup> made perpetual, [c. 25].

The universities of Oxford and Cambridge incorporated by act of parliament, [c. 29].

on a general promise of peaceable behaviour; he returned to Warwick, and died there, in 1602, expressing on his death-bed regret for the dissensions he had been instrumental in occasioning.

<sup>b</sup> Some attempts were made to defeat their act by fraudulent conveyances, against which a special law was passed in 1576, [18 Eliz. c. 4].

<sup>c</sup> This act was in some measure one of concession to the Puritans, as it allowed clergymen already beneficed, but questionably ordained, to hold preferment by subscription to such of the Articles of 1563 "as only concern the profession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments;" in the same spirit, a portion of the twentieth Article—"The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith"—was omitted in a new edition of the Thirty-nine Articles prepared by Bishop Jewel, but probably not published until after his death. Such unwarrantable tampering with public documents gave occasion to the Puritans of a later day to charge the bishops with forging the clause in question; but it exists in a Latin edition printed in 1563, as well as in some English ones of 1571.

<sup>d</sup> See p. 126.

Dr. John Story is executed for treason\*, June 1.

Injunctions issued by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, forbidding "reading, praying, preaching, or administering the sacraments in any place, public or private," without license, June 7.

Sampson and other Puritan leaders are summoned to Lambeth, and exhorted to conformity, but without effect.

The earl of Lenox, regent of Scotland, is killed, Sept. 4; he is succeeded by the earl of Mar.

The plans of the duke of Norfolk become known, and he is again sent to the Tower, Sept. 7.

The queen's accession-day is celebrated with extraordinary rejoicings, Nov. 17<sup>f</sup>.

Jesus College, Oxford, founded.

A.D. 1572. The duke of Norfolk is tried and convicted of treason, in conspiring to dethrone the queen, and to marry Mary, "late queen of Scots," Jan. 16. He is executed, June 2, on Tower-hill. .



Arms of Jesus College, Oxford.

\* He was a civilian, and had made himself conspicuous in parliament by opposing the changes in religion effected under Edward VI. Under Mary he was an active persecutor of the Protestants, and on her death he withdrew to the Netherlands; here he obtained an office in the customs, which often brought him into collision with the English merchants, and they, in the year 1570, seized him when searching one of their ships, and brought him to England; he was confined awhile in the Tower, and was at length executed, at the age of seventy, for refusing the oath of supremacy. The inscription, "1570 IHON. STORE DOCTOR," on the wall of the Beauchamp tower, indicates the place of his imprisonment.

† A prediction had been some time before industriously spread, in spite of the penalties risked (see p. 271), that the queen would not reign longer than twelve years; this was the thirteenth anniversary, and therefore a practical confutation of the invidious fancy.

‡ He was also charged with sending money to the earl of Westmoreland (his brother-in-law), and the countess of Northumberland,

The parliament meets, May 8, and sits till June 29. Its most important acts were, one declaring conspiracy to seize, detain, or destroy castles, felony, and holding them against the queen, treason [14 Eliz. c. 1], and another against attempts to rescue prisoners [c. 2], both having reference to the proceedings of the partisans of Mary of Scotland<sup>h</sup>; and a merciless statute against sturdy beggars [c. 5], who were ordered to be apprehended, "grievously whipped," and burnt through the right ear with a hot iron of one-inch compass<sup>i</sup>. Bills for abolishing many ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies, and for suppressing several of the Thirty-nine Articles, were brought in, but dropped, on the manifestation of the queen's displeasure<sup>j</sup>.

Some of the Netherland exiles, being ordered, on the complaint of the duke of Alva, to leave England, seize the port of Briel, on the Maes; Flushing and other

then in exile in Flanders. The earl of Shrewsbury was lord high steward of the court, which consisted of himself and twenty-six other peers, Leicester and Burghley being among the number. Norfolk had been educated by John Foxe, the Martyrologist; and, though he leagued with Romanists, he lived and died professedly a Protestant.

<sup>h</sup> John Hall and Francis Rolston, Derbyshire gentlemen, were tried at Westminster, May 17, charged with corresponding with her for the purpose of delivering her from the custody of George, earl of Shrewsbury, as long before as August, 1569. They were found guilty, and were executed.

<sup>i</sup> They were to fare still worse for the second offence, and for the third to suffer death as felons.

<sup>j</sup> Shortly after the prorogation there appeared an "Admonition to the Parliament," in which the views of the Puritans were set forth, and the most bitter and contemptuous language was employed against the Established Church. Two divines, Field and Wilcox, its presumed authors, were prosecuted as seditious libellers, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment. Whitgift was employed to prepare an Answer; Cartwright published a Reply, Whitgift a Defence of the Answer, and Cartwright a Second Reply; the controversy extending over nearly six years.

towns join them, and they carry on a naval war against the Spaniards.

Great numbers of the English repair to the Netherlands, and take part in the contest ; the majority join the malcontents.

The Puritans form their first presbytery at Wandsworth<sup>k</sup>.

The earl of Northumberland is executed at York, Aug. 22.

The court of France devise and execute a hideous butchery of the Protestants, since well known as the massacre of St. Bartholomew<sup>l</sup>.

A.D. 1573. Charke, Dering<sup>m</sup>, and other Puritans silenced, and attempts made, in vain, to suppress the Admonition to the Parliament.

The English seas infested by pirates ; William Hol-

<sup>k</sup> The example was speedily followed in other places. The vigilance of the High Commission Court was unable to detect the members of the Wandsworth presbytery, but they were believed to be London ministers. Field, already mentioned, was lecturer at Wandsworth, but resident in London, and a leading man in the Conferences which the Puritan ministers had long been in the habit of holding clandestinely there.

<sup>l</sup> It began on that day (Aug. 24), in Paris, with the assassination of the Admiral Coligny, and was continued in that city until all the Protestants were believed to be murdered, or to have made their escape ; similar butcheries took place in many other places, and the lowest estimate of the number of victims is that of De Thou, who states it at 30,000 ; other writers make it very much higher. To the eternal disgrace of the reigning pope (Gregory XIII.), medals were struck, and thanksgivings offered up on the occasion ; the monstrous crime, however, injured the cause it was intended to serve, as it proved to the Protestants of all countries that their safety could only be found in a closer union than they had hitherto maintained ; accordingly, they looked to Elizabeth as their protectress, and her aid rendered the triumph of Romanism impossible.

<sup>m</sup> Dering was lecturer at St. Paul's, London ; Charke, a fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. From their respective pulpits they inveighed fiercely against the hierarchy, Charke in particular maintaining that "Satan had introduced bishops, archbishops, metropolitans, patriarchs, and popes."

stock, comptroller of the navy, is sent against them, and captures 20 ships and 900 men<sup>a</sup>.

The trade between England and the Netherlands is resumed, at the desire of the duke of Alva<sup>o</sup>.

English troops are sent into Scotland to support the party of the young king; they capture the castle of Edinburgh, May 28, and soon after return to England.

Peter Burchet, a Puritan, attempts to murder John Hawkins, a naval officer, mistaking him for Sir Christopher Hatton, captain of the queen's guard, Oct. 11; he murders his keeper in prison, Nov. 10; is executed, Nov. 12<sup>p</sup>.

The earl of Morton (James Douglas) is made regent of Scotland, Nov. 9.

A.D. 1574. Several private assemblies of Romanists are surprised, on Palm Sunday (April 4); the priests and the hearers are apprehended<sup>q</sup>, and the service-books and church decorations seized.

A.D. 1575. A congregation of Dutch Anabaptists (27 in number) is seized on Easter Sunday (April 3), in London. Four recant their errors at Paul's-cross, May 15<sup>r</sup>, and one woman does so afterwards; eleven more are

<sup>a</sup> The pirates had shortly before attacked and plundered the earl of Worcester (William Somerset), while proceeding on an embassy to France.

<sup>o</sup> It was, however, soon broken off, and open countenance given by Elizabeth to the Protestants.

<sup>p</sup> He was manifestly mad, but the queen, who was alarmed, wished to have him executed by martial law directly he was apprehended, and though prevailed on to abandon that notion, she manifested so much dislike to his sect that Cartwright found it necessary to withdraw to Germany.

<sup>q</sup> The ladies Browne, Guilford, and Morley, and many other gentlewomen and children, were seized, as were four priests.

<sup>r</sup> Some English fanatics, styling themselves the Family of Love, abjured their errors (which they professed to have received from

condemned to be burnt, May 21, but are instead banished; two men (John Wielmacher and Hendrick Ter Voort, who probably had relapsed,) are burnt in Smithfield<sup>a</sup>, July 22.

The confederate Netherlanders offer the protection, or possession, of Holland and Zealand to the queen; she declines the offer, but promises her help to procure them a safe peace with Spain.

Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, dies, May 17; he is buried at Lambeth.

<sup>a</sup>A.D. 1576. The parliament meets, Feb. 8, and sits till March 15.

Coining, and clipping of good coin, declared treasonable offences<sup>t</sup>, [18 Eliz. c. 1].

An act passed to restrain the "heinous offences" commonly committed by mercenary informers, [c. 5]. By this statute, which was enforced by another in 1584 [27 Eliz. c. 10], informers were obliged to appear in person to support their accusations, and to state the true time of the offence; if they discontinued the action, they

Henry Nicholas, a Dutchman) at the same place, June 12. Their sect, however, survived; and it is in some respects represented by the Quakers of the present day. The Anabaptists rejected the Trinity, repudiated baptism, and denied the lawfulness of oaths, of war, or of magistrates; they were therefore peculiarly obnoxious, and had been ordered to quit England as early as Sept. 22, 1560.

<sup>a</sup> John Foxe, the Martyrologist, wrote a letter to the queen, entreating her to inflict some other death than burning, which he represents as the distinctive cruelty of Romanists: neither he nor his cotemporaries seem to have had any doubt of the justice and propriety of capital punishment for religious opinions.

<sup>t</sup> These practices had become very common since the reformation of the coinage in 1560, (see p. 270). Two persons were executed in 1570, for forging and passing pieces of "tin and tin-glass" for shillings; and others were condemned for clipping gold, but obtained a pardon. Some doubt, however, existed as to the legal quality of these offences, and they were now authoritatively declared treason.



were to pay the costs; and if they compounded it without leave of the court, they were to be set in the pillory in some adjacent market-town for two hours, to pay a fine of £10, and be incapacitated from suing in future.

College rents appointed to be paid at least one-third in corn at market price, [c. 6].

Two justices appointed for each Welsh circuit, [c. 8.]

The fineness of gold and silver plate fixed by statute<sup>u</sup>, [c. 15].

Edmund Grindal<sup>x</sup>, archbishop of York, is translated to Canterbury; he is confirmed Feb. 15.

The Commons petition the queen for a reformation of discipline in the Church<sup>y</sup>.

The Netherlanders piratically seize many English vessels; a fleet is sent against them.

A.D. 1577. Rowland Gabriel, Katherine Deago, and

\* Gold was fixed at 22 carats, and 12d. per oz. for work; silver at 10 oz. 2 dwt., and 12d. per lb. for work. The Goldsmiths' company had the marking of the same; and affixing false marks was rendered punishable by a fine of double the value of the goods.

\* He was born in Cumberland in 1519, and was educated at Cambridge, where he found a patron in Bishop Ridley. He went into exile in the time of Mary, and rendered himself conspicuous by his firm support of the English Liturgy against the objections of Knox and his partisans. He took part in the disputation at Westminster on Elizabeth's accession, was in 1559 made bishop of London, removed to York in 1570, and in 1576 to Canterbury. Grindal inclined to the views of the Puritans, and, though commanded by the queen to suppress the exercises termed "prophesyings," he declined to comply, and addressed to Elizabeth a letter of earnest remonstrance, such as very few men but himself would have ventured to have written. It was, however, disregarded; he was sequestered from his see, and confined to his house; he became blind, but his spirit was unsubdued, and steps were being taken to deprive him, when the queen and her ministers were spared so odious a step against a truly learned, pious, conscientious, and amiable man, by his death, which occurred at Croydon, July 6, 1583.

† The queen answered that the bishops had been directed to examine the matter, and if they failed in their duty she would supply the want by her supremacy.

six others, are tried at Aylesbury, April 18, charged with "feloniously keeping company with other vagabonds, vulgarly called and calling themselves Egyptians, and counterfeiting, transferring, and altering themselves in dress, language, and behaviour." They are found guilty, and hanged<sup>a</sup>.

The queen makes a league with the Netherlanders, and assists them with money, ships, and men.

The puritanical meetings, called Prophesyings, forbidden by the queen, May 7, and almost immediately discontinued<sup>a</sup>.

Cuthbert Mayne, a seminary priest, is executed at Launceston, Nov. 29<sup>b</sup>.

Francis Drake sails from Plymouth, on his voyage round the world, Dec. 13<sup>c</sup>.

A.D. 1578. John Nelson, a priest, and Thomas Sherwood, a young layman, are executed at Tyburn, Feb. 3 and 7, for denying the queen's supremacy<sup>d</sup>.

The pope (Gregory XIII.) supplies forces for the

<sup>a</sup> They had been apprehended by an order from the council, signed by the lord chancellor (Sir Nicholas Bacon) and others.

<sup>a</sup> These meetings of the clergy for prayer and exposition of Scripture, but without the use of the Service-book, appear to have arisen at Northampton about 1570, or even earlier, when that town was so completely under puritanical influence that the service in the churches was new modelled, and Calvin's Catechism substituted for that set forth by authority.

<sup>b</sup> He had been some time in England as chaplain to a Cornish gentleman, named Tregian, a known recusant. Mayne had in his possession, when seized, a papal bull, not relating to politics; but he was held by the court to have offended against the law of 1571 (see p. 281); his own party regarded him as "the protomartyr of Douay."

<sup>c</sup> He returned in 1580, was visited on board his ship by the queen, and knighted.

<sup>d</sup> According to Dr. Milner, 15 persons altogether suffered on this charge; 126 for exercising the functions of the priesthood; and 63 either for being reconciled, or for assisting priests; a total of 204.

invasion of Ireland, but the project is not carried into effect<sup>e</sup>.

The State Paper Office founded, Dr. Wilson, a civilian, being appointed the first keeper.

A.D. 1579. Matthew Hamond, of Hetherset, near Norwich, is burnt at Norwich as a heretic, May 20<sup>f</sup>.

A small party of Spaniards land at Smerwick, in Kerry, and fortify themselves there<sup>g</sup>, July.

Negotiations are commenced for a marriage between the queen and Francis, duke of Alençon, brother of the French king<sup>h</sup>.

A.D. 1580. James of Scotland chooses two young men<sup>i</sup> as favourites, who intrigue to overthrow the regent Morton.

\* The command of 800 men had been given by the pope to an English fugitive named Thomas Stukeley, whom he created marquis of Leinster; and he was to have been joined by a much larger body of Spaniards and Portuguese, under Sebastian, king of Portugal. The king, however, prevailed on Stukeley first to accompany him on an expedition to Africa, where they both perished. Philip of Spain (uncle of Sebastian) seized on Portugal, and Antonio, the heir to the crown, found refuge in England.

<sup>f</sup> He was an ignorant mechanic, who denied the Trinity, and pronounced the Gospel a fable. He was condemned to the stake, but venturing to utter in court "words of blasphemy against the queen's majesty, and others of her council," he was sentenced also to lose his ears, and was burnt a month after.

<sup>g</sup> They had been raised by James Fitzmaurice, brother of the earl of Desmond. In their company were Saunders, an English refugee, invested with the commission of papal legate, and Allen, an Irish Jesuit.

<sup>h</sup> The project caused much alarm, especially to the Puritans, and also much mischief to the Romanists, many priests being executed apparently to remove the fears of the former, who imagined that the queen intended to forsake Protestantism. The duke came to England, and resided here for some months, in 1581 and 1582; but the scheme was abandoned, and he was invited to become the protector of the Netherlands. He acted treacherously in this capacity, attempted to seize Antwerp, but was defeated, and died shortly after, July 10, 1583.

<sup>i</sup> These were Esme Stuart, nephew to the king's grandfather, the earl of Lenox, and James Stuart, son of Lord Ochiltree; Esme was

Allen induces the pope (Gregory XIII.) to despatch a mission of Jesuits to England, to attempt its re-conversion. Its leaders are Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion<sup>k</sup>. They reach England in July, and reconcile many to the Church of Rome. A proclamation is issued against them, to which Campion prepares a reply, in which he expresses a desire for a public disputation<sup>l</sup>.

The erection of new buildings in London forbidden by proclamation<sup>m</sup>, July 7.

A fresh body of Italians and Spaniards joins those already in Ireland; they are soon after compelled to surrender<sup>n</sup>, Nov. 9.

soon made duke of Lenox, and James received the title of earl of Arran.

<sup>k</sup> They had both formerly professed Protestantism, and had belonged to Baliol and St. John's Colleges, Oxford. Parsons (born 1546, in Somersetshire) left that university under the imputation of a disorderly life, wandered abroad for some years, and at length became a Jesuit, after he had endeavoured to live as a physician, or a civilian. Campion, who was a Londoner (born 1540), had when a youth appeared a zealous Protestant, and been in consequence favoured by Bishop Cheyney, of Gloucester. He became a Romanist about 1569, went to Ireland, and thence to Douay, where he became professor of divinity; he was afterwards a Jesuit missionary in Bohemia, and at length was dispatched, somewhat against his will, to England. He was, unlike his companion, a man of mild and amiable character, but both were furnished with instructions relative to the bull of Pius V. (see p. 279), which gave a political rather than a religious character to their enterprise.

<sup>l</sup> He was visited when in prison, and reminded of this challenge; he accordingly disputed with his opponents, but the meetings had no result.

<sup>m</sup> Various reasons are assigned why the growth of the city was esteemed an evil. Lack of room to walk and sport, increase of beggars, increased danger of plague and fire, but especially the trouble of governing so great a multitude, are among them.

<sup>n</sup> The Irish who had joined them, both men and women, were hanged; the foreigners, about 400 in number, were put to the sword, their leader, San Giuseppe, and a few others only being spared. Allen, the Jesuit, had been killed shortly before in a skirmish, and the fate of Saunders is uncertain; Camden says he survived until 1583, when he was found starved to death; Dod asserts that he died of disease in 1580.

A.D. 1581. The parliament meets, Jan. 16, and sits till March 18.

A severe act passed against the Romanists, entitled "An act to retain the queen's majesty's subjects in their due obedience," [23 Eliz. c. 1.] It provided that any person reconciling another to the see of Rome should be punished as a traitor, and the person reconciled incur misprision of treason; saying mass was to be punished by a fine of 200 marks; hearing it, by a fine of 100 marks, with, in each case, a year's imprisonment; absence from church was to be punished by a fine of £20 a month; and if continued a year two sureties of £200 each were to be given for future good behaviour. All schoolmasters were to be licensed by the ordinary, or suffer a year's imprisonment, and persons employing them to be fined £10 a month.

Seditious words and slanderous tales forbidden [c. 2], under penalty of pillory and imprisonment for the first offence, and death for the second. Death was also the punishment for casting nativities, or wishing the queen's death [c. 3.]

A more reasonable act [c. 4] appoints commissioners to fortify the border towards Scotland. It states that the inhabitants of the northern parts, though exempted from subsidies, have neglected to keep their houses fortified; they are to be compelled to do so, having "favourable sets and forms of tenure" for the purpose.

Morton is tried and convicted of participation in the murder of Darnley; he is executed, June 1.

Campion is seized at Lyfford, in Berkshire, July 17. He is brought to London, with two other priests, and lodged in the Tower, July 22.

Edward Hance, a priest, is executed for denying the queen's supremacy, July 31.

Campion is racked in the Tower, and reveals the names of the persons who had sheltered him; many of them are in consequence fined and imprisoned.

Six Protestant divines<sup>o</sup> are sent on different days to dispute with him; he is afterwards questioned as to the pope's deposing power, and his answers being deemed unsatisfactory, he is again racked, with greater severity; and at length is tried for high treason, and condemned, Nov. 26; he is executed, with two other ecclesiastics, Dec. 1<sup>p</sup>.

A.D. 1582. The States of the Netherlands choose the duke of Alençon for their governor, February. He takes the field against the Spaniards, but excites jealousy by placing French garrisons in the towns.

The earl of Gowrie (Alexander Ruthven) and several other nobles, seize James of Scotland, and oblige him to dismiss his favourites, Arran and Lenox<sup>q</sup>; this affair is known as the Raid of Ruthven.

A.D. 1583. The duke of Anjou attempts to seize

<sup>o</sup> Nowell and Day, deans of St. Paul's and Windsor, Drs. Fulke, Goad, and Walker, and Mr. Charke.

<sup>p</sup> Six other priests and a layman were convicted with him, and five more on the following day; the charge against them was, that they had vowed allegiance to the pope, who had in various ways compassed and imagined the death of the queen. The lives of three (Bosgrave, a Jesuit, Rishton, a secular priest, and Orton, the layman), who solemnly renounced the pope's deposing power, were spared; the rest were executed at different periods: Campion, Sherwin, and Briant, Dec. 1, 1581; Ford, Johnson, and Short, May 28; and Cottam, Filby, Kirby, and Richardson, May 30, 1582. Parsons escaped from England, revisited it at the time of Babington's conspiracy, and, after living several years as a political writer and plotter in the service of Spain, retired to Rome, where he died in 1610.

<sup>q</sup> Lenox retired to France, and shortly after died there; Arran regained his influence for a while, but ultimately died in poverty.

Antwerp by treachery, Jan. 7; he is foiled by the citizens<sup>r</sup>, and is soon obliged to retire to France, being strongly withstood by the English and Scottish troops in the pay of the States.

James of Scotland regains his authority, and exiles the parties to the Raid of Ruthven; Gowrie, however, is pardoned, on his submission, and the others soon return.

Elias Thacker and John Copping are hanged, June 4 and 6, for dispersing books, (termed "seditious libels,") written by Robert Browne<sup>a</sup> against the Book of Common Prayer.

Archbishop Grindal dies, July 6; he is succeeded by John Whitgift<sup>t</sup>, bishop of Worcester.

<sup>r</sup> Upwards of 1,500 of the French were killed, and 2,000 taken prisoners. The people defended themselves with equal skill and courage; they drew chains across the streets, and fired from the windows and housetops. "When they wanted bullets," says Stow, "they very advisedly and readily melted their pewter dishes and platters to make shot; and some, for more speed, took money out of their purses, and bent it with their teeth, and sent it singing out of their muskets and calivers."

<sup>a</sup> Browne was a kinsman of the minister Cecil, and had been chaplain to the duke of Norfolk. He quarrelled alike with the discipline of the Established Church and with that of the Puritans, was censured by the Court of High Commission, and withdrew to Holland, where he wrote a book advocating the principles of self-government in each Church, since known as *Independency*. At length he returned, and though he gave only a feigned conformity, (he never preached,) received the living of Achurch, in Northamptonshire. He was of a quarrelsome, imperious disposition, suffered numerous imprisonments in consequence, and died at last in Northampton gaol at a very advanced age, being confined there, not for any religious or political principle, but for an assault on a constable.

<sup>t</sup> He was born at Grimsby, about 1530, was educated at Cambridge under John Bradford, resided in the university for many years, and shewed himself a strenuous opponent of the Puritans; he answered their "Admonition to the Parliament," and in his capacity of vice-chancellor expelled Cartwright, who was esteemed their most able preacher, from his fellowship. In 1577 he became bishop of Worcester; and, being associated with Sir Henry Sydney in the

John Lewis, who denied the divinity of our Lord, is burnt at Norwich, Sept. 17.

The earl of Desmond is surprised and killed<sup>u</sup>, Nov. 11.

Edward Arden, a Warwickshire gentleman, is executed, Dec. 20, on a charge of having conspired with John Somerville and others to assassinate the queen<sup>x</sup>.

A.D. 1584. Sir John Perrott is appointed lord deputy of Ireland<sup>y</sup>, Jan. 7.

William Carter, a printer, is executed for reprinting a

government of the Marches of Wales, he shewed much aptitude for secular business. In his administration of the primacy Archbishop Whitgift acted with vigour and determination; he maintained the authority of the ecclesiastical courts, procured the imposition of severe restrictions on the press, which had fallen extensively under Puritan influence, and in all his proceedings with that party dealt with them with a high hand. His efforts were, however, but indifferently seconded by the government, and he was often thwarted in his designs. He attended, with other prelates, at the conferences held at Hampton Court, in the presence of James I., when the great bulk of the Puritan objections were dismissed as unfounded, but died very soon after, Feb. 29, 1604.

<sup>x</sup> He had already been attainted, and his vast estates, estimated at near 600,000 acres, were partitioned among the English soldiers and adventurers, Sir Walter Raleigh and the poet Spenser being in the number.

<sup>y</sup> Somerville, who was the son-in-law of Arden, was a madman; some of his incoherent expressions were detailed by Hall, a Romish priest, who declared that Arden, his wife and daughter, approved of them; this was sufficient to procure Arden's condemnation, though it was generally believed that his real offence was, that he was personally obnoxious to Leicester, whose retainer he had refused to become, and who obtained the grant of his estate for one of his followers. Somerville was condemned, but committed suicide; the priest and the females were pardoned.

<sup>z</sup> He is said to have been a natural son of Henry VIII., and to have borne great resemblance to him both in person and in his imperious nature. We see, by the Council book of Queen Mary, that he was committed to the Fleet, Jan. 18, 1554, with Lord Ormond and Lord Garrett, for violently assaulting the servants of the earl of Worcester, but he was released two days after. His government of Ireland was displeasing to the queen; he was removed in 1587, was accused, and condemned of treason, and died in the Tower.



"Treatise on Schism," in which the murder of the queen was thought to be recommended<sup>z</sup>, Jan. 10.

Five seminary priests executed at Tyburn<sup>a</sup>, Feb. 12.

The earl of Gowrie is executed, and the other parties to the Raid of Ruthven again banished.

Francis Throckmorton is executed on charges of treasonable correspondence with the Spanish ambassador and others<sup>b</sup>, July 10.

Creighton, a Scottish Jesuit, is captured at sea, in September; he endeavours to destroy a paper which proves to be the heads of a plan for a Spanish invasion, and the deposition or death of the queen, to which Mary of Scotland was said to have consented.

The parliament meets, Nov. 23, and sits till March 29, 1585. Its first act was one "for provision to be made for the surety of the queen's most royal person, and the continuance of the realm in peace," [27 Eliz. c. 1.] 'This

<sup>z</sup> The book was written by Gregory Martin, a Jesuit, and was first printed at Douay in 1578. The passage objected to, which exhorted "our Catholic gentlewomen to destroy Holofernes, the master heretic," Carter endeavoured to explain as an allegory, but the judges overruled this, and he was executed as a traitor.

<sup>a</sup> The government thought it necessary to publish a justification of these proceedings, which were severely commented upon in foreign countries. There accordingly appeared "A Declaration of the Favourable Dealings of Her Majesty's Commissioners," in which the use of the rack was defended; and a "Declaration of the Traitorous Affection borne against Her Majesty by Edmund Campion, Jesuit, and other condemned Priests;" to these Allen replied by a book "On the English Persecution;" the government then brought forward another, entitled, "The Execution of Justice in England not for Religion, but for Treason," which was also published in Italian; Allen replied to this in his "British Justice," and there the controversy ceased.

<sup>b</sup> He confessed, on the rack, that a plan was in agitation for the invasion of England by the Spaniards; the Spanish ambassador, when taxed with this, retorted with charges of piracy, and of interference in the Netherlands, but soon after withdrew to Paris.

act legalized an Association which had been formed shortly before to protect the queen from assassination, or to revenge her death. The subscribers (headed by Leicester) promised to punish with death any attempt on her life, and also to exclude from the throne all who should authorize such an attempt or be meant to profit by it<sup>c</sup>.

Another act was "Against Jesuits, seminary priests, and other such-like disobedient persons" [c. 2]. Jesuits and seminary priests were to leave the kingdom within forty days, under the penalty of treason; to aid or receive them was made felony; all students in the seminaries were to return within six months and take the oath of supremacy, or be considered as traitors, and if they returned they were not to come within twelve miles of the court for ten years. Persons sending children to the seminaries were to forfeit £100, and to incur the penalties of *præmunire* if they sent money to any already there; the parties sent were rendered incapable of inheriting from the sender<sup>d</sup>. This bill was vehemently opposed by Dr. William Parry, member for Queenborough; he was placed in arrest, by the House of Commons, Dec. 17, but released by order of the queen the next day<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> This clause was evidently directed against Mary of Scotland, yet she offered her own signature, but it was declined.

<sup>d</sup> The Romanists presented a petition to the queen, protesting their loyalty, and praying her not to consent to this bill; its only effect was to cause the imprisonment for life of the gentleman who offered it to her (Richard Shelley, of Michael Grove, in Sussex.)

<sup>e</sup> Parry, who had been bred a lawyer, had but recently returned to England, having been employed for some years on the continent by the English government as a spy. He was a man of vile character, and had treacherously discussed the question of assassinating the queen with several priests and others on purpose to betray them.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge, founded by Sir Walter Mildmay<sup>f</sup>.

A settlement founded in America, and named, in honour of the queen, Virginia<sup>g</sup>.

A.D. 1585. Twenty Romish priests and one layman are banished by virtue of the recent act [27 Eliz. c. 2]<sup>h</sup>, Jan. 15.

Dr. Parry is apprehended, and sent to the Tower,

He was admitted to interviews with the queen, but not being rewarded as he expected, he resumed his practices, was betrayed by one of his intended victims (Edmund Neville, the heir of the last earl of Westmoreland,) condemned, and executed.

<sup>f</sup> He was for many years Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was a firm supporter of the Puritans; his college was speedily filled with them, and it was commonly known among the party as "the house of pure Emmanuel."

<sup>g</sup> Its chief promoter was Walter Raleigh, one of the most distinguished men of his time. He was born in Devonshire in 1552, and came early to court, where he soon became a favorite. His passion, however, was for arms and maritime discovery, and he eventually lost his life in the pursuit. Raleigh served with signal bravery, both by sea and land, and he received the grant of large estates in Ireland; but he sought for still greater fortune from the discovery of golden mines in America. His schemes failed, and when he attempted to pay his court to James of Scotland, he found himself circumvented by Cecil, was involved, perhaps unjustly, in a charge of treason, tried, and sentenced to death. His life was spared, and after thirteen years' imprisonment he was released, and fitted out an expedition for the occupation of Guiana, where he asserted that mines richer than those of Mexico or Peru were to be found. He was unable to effect his object, but he had given mortal offence to Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, who possessed unbounded influence with the king; and on his return he was barbarously executed on his former sentence, dying with firmness and resignation, Oct. 29, 1618.

<sup>h</sup> A commission was issued on this day empowering any six of certain commissioners to banish so many as to them should seem fitting of Jesuits, seminary priests, and lay persons, who were seducers of the queen's loving subjects. This party, which was landed in Normandy, comprised three priests and one layman who had been attainted, ten who had been indicted, and seven who were suspected of treason. In the following September thirty-two more, collected from the Tower, the Marshalsea, and other prisons, were banished, but being attacked at sea by a Dutch pirate, they were, at their own request, set on shore at Boulogne.

Feb. 8. He is tried at Westminster, Feb. 25, and pleads guilty of conspiring with Edmund Neville to kill the queen; he is executed, March 2.

The earl of Arundel (Philip Howard) is sent to the Tower, on a charge of attempting to leave the realm clandestinely<sup>1</sup>, April 14.

The banished lords return to Scotland, and procure the degradation of Arran<sup>2</sup>.

The earl of Northumberland (Henry Percy) is found dead in the Tower<sup>1</sup>, June 21.

The queen accepts the protection of the Netherlands, in July. She agreed to supply them with 1000 horse and 5000 foot, for which they were to pay at the end of the war, and they were to put in her hands Flushing, Briel, and Rammekins, in the isle of Walcheren, as security. She was to name a governor-general, who,

<sup>1</sup> He was the son of Thomas, duke of Norfolk, executed in 1572. In 1584 he was imprisoned on suspicion of corresponding with Mary of Scotland, but was soon released; in the same year, according to the indictment afterwards found against him, he received two seminary priests (Weston and Bridges), was reconciled to Rome, and offered his services to Cardinal Allen and the other refugees. Soon after his committal to the Tower he was fined £10,000 by the Star-chamber, and sentenced to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure. He was at length, after a four years' imprisonment, brought to trial before his peers, April 14, 1589, and found guilty of treason, one charge being that he had procured a mass to be said by one William Bennet, and had himself written a prayer, for the success of the Armada. For some unknown reason Arundel was not executed, but he lived in daily expectation of the scaffold, until his death, Oct. 19, 1595. Several interesting memorials remain of him on the walls of the Beauchamp tower; one consists of four lines of Latin expressive of faith and hope, signed "ARUNDELL, JUNE 22, 1587."

<sup>2</sup> He was proclaimed a public enemy, reduced to his original name of Captain James Stuart, and suffered to die in obscurity.

<sup>1</sup> He was brother of the earl beheaded in 1572, and was imprisoned on suspicion of being in confederacy with Throckmorton (see p. 295). Whether he committed suicide, or was murdered, as is sometimes affirmed, is uncertain.

with two English councillors, was to be admitted to a share of their government. Neither party was to make peace without the consent of the other, and a fleet was to be furnished by both parties in equal numbers, but to be commanded by an English admiral.

A seminary priest and a layman hanged, for dispersing slanderous books, July 6.

Drake is dispatched against the Spaniards in the West Indies, and does them vast damage; he takes the cities St. Domingo and Carthagena, ravages the coast of Florida, and returns with a large amount of treasure and 240 pieces of cannon<sup>m</sup>.

The earl of Leicester is sent to the Netherlands, as commander of the English forces; he lands at Flushing, Dec. 10.

The western part of Ireland is reduced to subjection by Sir Richard Bingham.

A.D. 1586. William Shelley is convicted of conspiring to slay the queen, and deliver the queen of Scots, Feb. 12; he is executed.

Two seminary priests (Barber and Devereux) executed, Jan. 19 and 21; and two more (Thomson and Lea) April 20.

The Netherlands grant "the highest and supreme commandment, and absolute authority," to "His Excellency" the earl of Leicester, Feb. 6; at which the queen is greatly displeased.

Leicester takes the field in April; he is at first suc-

<sup>m</sup> In passing the American coast he came to Raleigh's settlement, Virginia (see p. 297); the colonists were in such distress that they solicited Drake to bring them to England, which he did. These men brought the use of tobacco to this country.

cessful, through the courage and conduct of Sir John Norris, Sir Francis Vere, and others of his lieutenants, but fails in an attempt on Zutphen\*.

A "league of stricter amity," entered into with James of Scotland, providing for mutual assistance in case of invasion by any of "the neighbour princes, who will needs be called Catholics," July 1.

Five English merchant vessels beat off thirteen galleys of Spain and Malta, at Pantellaria, July 13.

John Savage, a soldier of Philip's forces, forms a design to kill the queen. His intention is approved by William Gifford, a priest at Reims, and also by John Ballard, a missionary priest in England. Anthony Babyngton, and several other gentlemen of fortune<sup>o</sup>, are induced to join the scheme; they are betrayed by a spy (Pooley), and brought to trial, Sept. 13, 14, when Babyngton, Ballard, Savage, and four others plead guilty; seven more are convicted, Sept. 15; the whole fourteen are executed, Sept. 20, 21.

The indictment against these parties charged them not only with intending to kill the queen, but also to

\* In a skirmish before this town, on Sept. 22, his nephew, Sir Philip Sydney, was mortally wounded.

<sup>o</sup> Their names are thus given in their indictment:—Edward Abyngton, of Henlip, co. Worcester; Anthony Babyngton, of Dethycke, co. Derby; Robert Barnewell, of London; Jerome Bellamy, of London; John Charnock, of London; Henry Dunne, of London; Robert Gage, of London; Edward Jones, of Cadogan, co. Denbigh; Thomas Salsburye, of Llewenny, co. Denbigh; John Traves, of Prescott, co. Lancaster; Chidiok Tychborne, of Porchester, co. Hants; Charles Tylney, of London. Sir Thomas Gerrard, and Elizabeth and Katherine Bellamy, had also indictments found against them, but do not appear to have been brought to trial; Gerrard, however, was a prisoner in the Tower July 24, 1588, as we learn from the record of the trial of the earl of Arundel. Edward Wyndesore, brother of the baron of that title, was also one of the party, but he made his escape.

rise in arms to favour an invasion from Spain, and to release the queen of Scots; this last was probably the chief object with most of them, but the project terminated as fatally for her as for themselves. Babyngton had been recently in France, and had brought letters for Mary, and in return she is stated in his indictment to have written letters to him, "in which she not only signified that she allowed and approved of such intended treasons, but therein also urged and solicited Babyngton and his confederates, by promises of great reward, to fulfil the same." The truth of this assertion, at least as far as regards any design on the life of Elizabeth, is very doubtful, but it answered the purpose of the framers of the Association<sup>p</sup> and it was forthwith resolved to proceed to the judicial murder of the unhappy prisoner. Her secretaries (Nau and Curle) and her papers were seized, and both subjected to rigid examination, and Mary was removed to Fotheringhay Castle preparatory to her so-called trial.

Three Romish priests are hanged at Tyburn, Oct. 8.

A majority of a board of forty-seven commissioners assembles at Fotheringhay, Sir Thomas Bromley, lord chancellor, and the earls of Kent (Henry Grey) and Shrewsbury (George Talbot) being the leading members, for the trial of Mary, Oct. 11. She at first refuses to plead, then acknowledges negotiating with foreign powers to obtain her freedom, but earnestly disdains any intention against the life of Elizabeth. She also charges Walsingham with forging letters (which he denies), and desires to be confronted with her secre-

<sup>p</sup> See p. 296.

taries, one of whom (Nau) she accuses of treachery. Her demand is refused, and the commissioners adjourn, Oct. 14.

The commissioners re-assemble in the Starchamber, Oct. 25, and pronounce a sentence, "that Babyngton's conspiracy was with the privity (*cum scientia*) of Mary;" as also "that she had herself compassed and imagined within this realm of England divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the royal person of our sovereign lady the queen."

The parliament meets, Oct. 28, and sits till December 2. Their principal business was the attainder of Babyngton and his associates, and applications to the queen to consent to the execution of Mary. She desired them to re-consider their request; they again urged it, and then she dismissed them with an ambiguous speech, which she herself termed "an answer without an answer."

The sentence against Mary is confirmed by the queen and her council at Richmond, Dec. 4; it is published in London<sup>9</sup>, Dec. 6, and shortly after communicated to the prisoner.

Mary writes to Elizabeth, Dec. 19; she prays that she may not be privately put to death; that she may be buried in France, as the Scottish sepulchres have been profaned; and that her servants may be allowed to go free, and enjoy her legacies.

The Netherlanders complain loudly of the exactions

<sup>9</sup> The proclamation was made in seven different places, "to the great and wonderful rejoicing of the people of all sorts," says Stow, "as manifestly appeared by ringing of bells, making of bonfires, and singing of psalms in every one of the streets and lanes of the city."



and mismanagement of Leicester, and he returns to England in December.

A.D. 1587. James of Scotland and Henry III. of France intercede for Mary's life<sup>r</sup>; the queen gives ambiguous answers. At length she signs the warrant for execution, Feb. 1, and gives it into the care of William Davison, the secretary, who, by direction of the council, dispatches it to Fotheringhay<sup>s</sup>.

The earls of Kent and Shrewsbury wait on Mary, Feb. 7, and warn her for death.

On the following day (Feb. 8) the queen was brought into the great hall of the castle of Fotheringhay, several of the commissioners, the sheriff of the county (Thomas Andrews), and a few spectators, being present, beside her own servants. The sentence was read, and, says Camden, "she heard it attentively, yet as if her thoughts were taken up with somewhat else." Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, offered his services, but she declined them, and prayed in Latin with her servants (from the Office of the Blessed Virgin); she also prayed in English for the Church, for her son, and for Queen Elizabeth, and forgave the executioner; then, having kissed her women

<sup>r</sup> The Scottish ambassador is said to have abused his trust, and urged Mary's execution; the French ambassador's representations were not attended to, as his master's sincerity was doubted.

<sup>s</sup> Elizabeth either felt or affected extreme reluctance to take the life of Mary, but her courtiers (according to Camden) argued "that the life of one Scottish and titular queen ought not to weigh down the safety of all England;" and "some preachers more tartly than was fit, and some of the vulgar sort more saucily than became them, either out of hope or fear," held the same language; and there can be no doubt that her council conceived they were carrying her wishes into effect by acting on the warrant. Yet they had the meanness and cruelty to sacrifice their tool, Davison, who was tried in the Star-chamber, sentenced to a fine of £10,000, and imprisoned for years.

and signed the men with the sign of the cross, she prepared for death, and had sufficient command of herself to comfort her weeping attendants. "Having covered her face with a linen handkerchief, and laying herself down to the block, she recited that psalm, 'In Thee, O Lord, do I trust, let me never be confounded.' Then stretching forth her body, and repeating many times, 'Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit,' her head was stricken off at two strokes, the dean [Fletcher] crying out, 'So let Queen Elizabeth's enemies perish!' the earl of Kent answering, 'Amen,' and the multitude sighing and sorrowing<sup>1</sup>."

Sir Christopher Hatton, captain of the queen's guard, is made lord chancellor<sup>a</sup>, April 29.

Sir Francis Drake is sent with a fleet against the Spaniards. He burns or captures many ships of war in the harbour of Cadiz, April 19, and in the summer takes

<sup>1</sup> The character drawn by the same able historian of this unhappy princess has all the appearance of truth:—"She was a lady, fixed and constant in her religion, of singular piety towards God, invincible magnanimity of mind, wisdom above her sex, and admirable beauty; a lady to be reckoned in the list of those princesses who have changed their felicity for misery and calamity. . . . By Murray, her base brother, and other her ungrateful and ambitious subjects, she was much tossed and disquieted, deposed from her throne, and driven into England. By some Englishmen who were careful for preserving their religion, and providing for the queen's safety, she was, as indifferent censurers have thought, circumvented; and by others, that were desirous to restore the Romish religion, thrust forward to dangerous undertakings; and overborne by the testimonies of her secretaries, who seemed to be bribed and corrupted with money." Her body was buried at Peterborough, but removed by her son James to Henry VII.'s chapel, in Westminster Abbey.

<sup>a</sup> He succeeded Sir Thomas Bromley, who died April 26, 1587, and held the seals until his own death, Nov. 21, 1591, discharging the duties of his office more satisfactorily than could have been expected.

above 100 merchant ships, beside destroying much of the naval stores collected for the invasion of England<sup>a</sup>.

Leicester goes again to the Netherlands, in June, but soon returns<sup>j</sup>.

Sir William Stanley gives up his post at Deventer, and joins the Spaniards, with 1300 of his men<sup>k</sup>.

### THE SPANISH ARMADA.

ABOUT the time that Pope Gregory XIII. sent Cam-  
pion and others into England<sup>a</sup> preparations were begun  
by Philip II. of Spain, in concert with the Guises (the  
actual rulers of France), for the conquest of the country.  
The work, however, proceeded but slowly<sup>b</sup>, owing, in  
part, to the magnitude of the armament that was thought  
necessary; and, although every step was closely watched  
by Walsingham and others, it was not until 1586 that  
any serious apprehension was felt that the threatened  
attack would be made; energetic steps were then taken

<sup>a</sup> Drake brought back information that the attempt on England  
would certainly be made in the ensuing summer.

<sup>j</sup> He had conceived the idea of acquiring the sovereignty of the  
provinces, but this was distasteful alike to Elizabeth and to the Ne-  
therlanders, and he was obliged to abandon it. He had, however,  
by presents and promises, gained a strong party, which gave much  
trouble to his successor, Prince Maurice.

<sup>k</sup> He was a Romanist, and a connexion of Babyngton; fear of be-  
ing, in consequence, charged as an accomplice in his plot, induced  
his desertion, which greatly alarmed and irritated the Netherlanders.

<sup>a</sup> See p. 290.

<sup>b</sup> Vessels were built, and naval stores and seamen procured for  
Philip, even from the Hanse towns and Denmark, but Elizabeth's  
ministers more than once damaged his credit with the Venetians  
and Genoese, the great money-lenders of the age; Walsingham,  
through Sir Thomas Gresham, the founder of the Royal Exchange,  
once brought his armament to a stand-still by shewing them the  
danger his treasure-ships ran of capture, when they refused to ad-  
vance money, as they had long been accustomed to do.

to meet the danger, and were heartily responded to by the great body of the people; even the Romanists bore their part in them<sup>c</sup>, but the Puritans are accused of a suspicious lukewarmness; it is certain, at least, that no sense of common danger could induce them to desist from their virulent attacks on the Church<sup>d</sup>.

In 1587 Drake was despatched with a force, which captured many ships, and did much damage to the Spaniards by destroying vast quantities of naval stores; he, however, brought certain intelligence that the expedition would sail in the following year; and accordingly, early in the spring of 1588, a fleet of about 140 ships<sup>e</sup> was got together, of which a large proportion was stationed on the western coast; and the Netherlands prepared a succour of 60 ships. Three armies were formed; one of 30,000 was in attendance on the queen, and to move with her as occasion might require; another of 20,000 was distributed along the southern coast; and a

\* When the Armada approached, however, it was thought prudent to imprison many of their number, and it is certain that the Spaniards expected their co-operation. This, perhaps, occasioned the large number of executions of Romanists this year (thirty-six); one was a gentlewoman (Margaret Ward), who had conveyed a rope to a priest in Bridewell, and thus enabled him to escape.

<sup>d</sup> The "scandalous books," as Camden justly terms them, which commonly go by the name of the Mar-Prelate Tracts, were printed about this very period. Their abuse of the hierarchy was so gross that Cartwright and other Puritans of note publicly disclaimed any concern in their production; it is believed that many of them were written by Henry Penry, who was executed in 1593.

<sup>e</sup> Less than twenty of these belonged to the royal navy; the rest were furnished by the cities of London, Bristol, and other seaports, by the merchant adventurers and private individuals; the vessels were very much less than those of the Spaniards, and the crews less than 15,000 in number; Charles Howard, earl of Effingham, was the admiral, and he had Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher under him. A squadron of about twenty ships, under Lord Henry Seymour, in conjunction with the Netherlands, watched the coast of Flanders.

third, of about the same strength, was placed at Tilbury, where a camp<sup>f</sup> was formed, and a bridge of boats established, both as a means of communication, and also, if necessary, to block up the river.

Meanwhile Philip's fleet had rendezvoused at Lisbon. It was a mighty force of at least 130 ships of war<sup>g</sup>, many of them of unusual bulk, and far exceeding in size any of the English vessels; it was manned by 11,000 seamen and galley-slaves, carried above 3,000 pieces of cannon, and had on board 22,000 troops officered from the first families in Spain, and accompanied by many noble volunteers, and 180 priests and monks. Philip visited the fleet at Lisbon in May, and thought himself justified in styling it "the Invincible Armada<sup>h</sup>," a consecrated banner and his benediction were received from the pope (Sixtus V.), and the fleet sailed on the 1st of June, under the command of Alfonso Peresius, duke of Medina Sidonia, a man unused to the sea, but assisted

<sup>f</sup> To this camp, where her favourite Leicester commanded, the queen paid a visit, when she made a speech to her troops. "I am come among you," she said, "not as for my recreation and sport, but as being resolved, in the middle and heat of the battle, to lie or die among you all; to lay down, for my God and my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know that I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king, and a king of England too."

<sup>g</sup> There was, beside, a large fleet of transports laden with many thousand stand of arms for those who were expected to join them, horses, mules, intrenching tools, and, lastly, fetters, whips, thumb-screws, and other instruments of torture. Some of these vessels were taken by the English in their first day's skirmish, and the sight of such a cargo raised their courage almost to madness.

<sup>h</sup> He had a pompous account of his "most happy Armada," printed in Latin and several other languages; and Cardinal Allen wrote, in English, an "Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland," exhorting them to rise in aid of the Spaniards, and denouncing the queen as the most infamous of human beings. On the failure of the expedition, every effort was made to suppress this pamphlet.

by Don Martinez de Ricaldi, a Biscayan mariner of great experience. The duke was directed to make his way as soon as possible to France and Flanders, without attacking the English fleet, the design being to commence the war by landing three different bodies of troops in England. A force, which the duke of Guise had collected in Normandy, was to be thrown on the western coast; the great body of the duke of Parma's veteran forces in the Netherlands, consisting of 30,000 foot and 5,000 horse, was to be landed in Kent or Essex, in order to march on London; and a part was to be disembarked in Yorkshire<sup>1</sup>, where it was expected that the Romanists would join them.

These plans were, however, all confounded by a storm which arose shortly after the Armada left Lisbon, and compelled the fleet to take shelter at the Groyne (near Ferrol), in so disordered a state that a report was at once spread that the expedition was abandoned for that year. In consequence, the duke of Guise withdrew his troops, Parma relaxed his preparations, and the English fleet, which had been cruising between Ushant and the Scilly Isles, retired to Plymouth. The English admiral, however, prudently retained some ships that he had been ordered to dismiss, and, putting to sea with a few vessels, visited the coast of Spain; he found the damage not so great as had been reported, and returning to port (July 12), re-victualled his fleet, which amounted to about sixty sail, and received on board many noble volunteers. On the 19th July he was warned that the Armada was

<sup>1</sup> These were Sir William Stanley and his band, whose traitorous desertion has been already noticed. See p. 305.

off the Cornish coast<sup>k</sup>; in spite of contrary winds he got to sea, hung on their rear in their passage up the Channel, and captured three large and many smaller vessels; and being daily joined by ships from the various English ports, had 140 vessels under his command, when the Spaniards anchored in Calais roads, on the 27th July.

Though the Spaniards had shewn themselves very deficient in seamanship<sup>l</sup>, and had seemed to retreat from their adversaries, when they were anchored in a solid body they presented too formidable an appearance for the admiral to hope to engage them with success; but a stratagem enabled him to ruin them. On the night of July 28, he converted eight old vessels into fire-ships, and, favoured by wind and tide, sent them among them. Though none of the Spanish vessels appear to have been burnt, a panic seized their commanders; they cut their cables, and endeavoured to make for the Flemish coast; several, however, went ashore, some close to Calais, others on the sand-banks, and many surrendered almost without resistance to the English. The great body steered in disorder for Gravelines and Dunkirk, but they were so perpetually harassed by the Netherlanders, as well as the English, that the duke of Parma refused to embark his troops, and the enterprise was abandoned, early in August.

The duke of Medina Sidonia's fleet was still greatly superior in strength to that of the English, but his men had little inclination to fight their way through their

<sup>k</sup> It had left the Groyne, July 11, so that the admiral had a narrow escape from capture.

<sup>l</sup> Three of their large vessels were captured mainly in consequence of being disabled by running foul of some of their own fleet.

enemies ; heavy westerly winds also made the passage of the Straits of Dover difficult, if not impossible ; and it was resolved to return to Spain by passing round the north of Scotland. The English pursued their flight as far as the Orkneys, making many captures every day<sup>m</sup>, but were then obliged to withdraw for want of ammunition. The Spaniards then held on their course, but suffered many further losses in the stormy and, by them, little-known seas around Scotland and Ireland<sup>n</sup>, and not more than one-third of the original armament ever reached Spain<sup>o</sup>.

Great rejoicings very naturally followed this overthrow of England's most potent enemy. Many of the Spanish flags and other spoils were displayed at Paul's-cross and elsewhere at sermons, and the queen attended a solemn thanksgiving at the cathedral, Nov. 24.

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A.D. 1588. Nine priests and nine other Romanists are executed in and near London, Aug. 28, 30, Sept. 23, and Oct. 5.

Francis Kett, a heretic, is burnt at Norwich, Nov. or Dec.

<sup>m</sup> The prisoners taken were kept on board hulk-ships at the Nore, it not being considered safe to bring them on shore, in consequence of the popular hatred.

<sup>n</sup> Upwards of thirty ships were driven on the western coast of Ireland in a storm, September 2, and most of the crews who escaped drowning were murdered on shore. Those who were driven among the Hebrides fared the same, but others who were wrecked on the main land of Scotland were humanely succoured and sent to Spain, a circumstance which facilitated the conclusion of a peace when James ascended the throne of England.

<sup>o</sup> Eighty large vessels, and at least 20,000 men, perished in the course of the four months (June to September) occupied in this disastrous expedition. Philip is related to have borne the loss with much apparent equanimity.



A.D. 1589. The parliament meets, Feb. 4, and sits till March 29.

An act passed against building cottages, [31 Eliz. c. 7.] By this statute, framed in the same spirit as the proclamation against buildings in London<sup>p</sup>, no cottages were to be erected unless four acres of land were perpetually annexed thereto; and but one family was to inhabit the same. The act, however, was not to apply to towns, nor to places near the sea-shore, nor to hinder the erection of cottages for workmen in mines, and for keepers in parks, woods, and chases.

Drake and Norris sail in April to attempt to place Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal<sup>q</sup>. Norris lands, and marches to Lisbon, but not being assisted by the fleet is obliged to retire. The generals retire in July, accusing each other; the soldiers and sailors being left without pay, some go into other services, others take to robbery, and several are hanged in and near London.

The earl of Cumberland (George Clifford) and Sir William Monson ravage the Spanish coasts, but their crews suffer much from sickness.

Henry III. of France is mortally wounded<sup>r</sup> by Jacques Clement, a monk, Aug. 9; he dies the next day, and is succeeded by Henry of Navarre, as Henry IV.

<sup>p</sup> See p. 290.

<sup>q</sup> To this expedition the queen contributed six ships and £60,000; the rest of the ships and the money was supplied by private individuals. The Groyne was besieged in vain, and Vigo burnt, but so little plunder was gained that the common men received but 5s. each, and they had no wages.

<sup>r</sup> He had, in the December of the preceding year, caused the duke of Guise and his brother the cardinal to be assassinated. Clement, who was cut down by the king's guard, was looked on by the Leaguers as a martyr.

Lord Willoughby is sent with 6,000 men to the assistance of the new king.

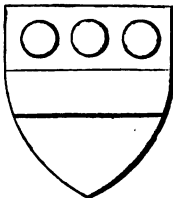
A.D. 1590. Christopher Bales, a priest, and two laymen who had concealed him, executed, March 4.

Hawkins and Forbisher are despatched to intercept the Spanish treasure-fleet; it is detained in America, by order from Philip.

A.D. 1591. Sir John Norris is sent with 3,000 men to the aid of Henry IV., April. A larger body, under the earl of Essex<sup>a</sup>, is sent in July.

William Hacket, a madman, who styled himself the Messiah, is hanged as a traitor<sup>t</sup>, July 28.

<sup>a</sup> Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, was the son of Walter, the first earl of that family, and was born in 1567. He was educated at Cambridge under Whitgift, served in the Netherlands with the earl of Leicester, and, though still very young, was appointed general of the horse, on the approach of the Spanish Armada. Leicester died soon after, and Essex succeeded to his place in the favour of Elizabeth. He, however, did not remain at court; he went on several expeditions to France, to Portugal, and to Spain, in one of which he captured Cadiz, and rendered himself exceedingly popular for his gallantry; he was also created earl marshal.



Arms of Devereux, earl of Essex.

He had many rivals, and more than once fell into disgrace with the queen. At length he was sent into Ireland, against O'Neal, but conducted himself in a manner which caused doubts of either his courage or his fidelity. He suddenly returned to England, and, irritated at his reception by the queen, at length attempted to raise an insurrection in London. He was tried and found guilty of treason, and was beheaded Feb. 25, 1601. Essex married the widow of Sir Philip Sydney (Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham), and left a son, also named Robert, who was restored in blood in 1613, and who commanded the parliamentary army against Charles I.

<sup>t</sup> His treason consisted in defacing the royal arms and a portrait of the queen. Two vehement Puritans (Coppinger and Arthington) had associated with him, and styled themselves the prophets of Mercy and of Judgment; Coppinger starved himself to death; Arthington was imprisoned, but on his submission was released.

Commissioners appointed to put the laws more strictly in force against Romanists, Oct.

Sir Bryan O'Rurke executed at Tyburn for treason<sup>u</sup>, Nov. 3.

Three priests, and four laymen who had relieved them, executed, Dec. 10.

Trinity College, Dublin, founded<sup>v</sup>, Dec. 29.

A.D. 1592. Thomas Pormorte, a priest, executed<sup>x</sup>, Feb. 20.

A further aid of 2,000 soldiers sent to the French king, under Sir Edmund York, February.

Sir John Perrott, late lord-deputy of Ireland, is convicted of treasonable correspondence with Spain<sup>y</sup>, April 27.

A.D. 1593. The parliament meets February 19, and sits till April 12.

An act passed "to restrain the queen's subjects in

\* He had long been in arms in Ireland, and had recruited his forces from the Spaniards shipwrecked on his lands in 1588. At length he was defeated, and fled to Scotland, but was given up on the demand of the English ministers. When brought to the bar he refused to plead, and was in consequence condemned without trial.

<sup>v</sup> Attempts had been made in the time of Edward II. and Edward IV. to establish universities for Ireland at Dublin and Drogheda, but they failed. A suppressed monastery (Allhallows), which had been granted to the citizens of Dublin, was by them appropriated to the foundation of Trinity College.

\* He had reconciled one John Barwys, a haberdasher, who was also condemned, but his life seems to have been spared.

<sup>y</sup> His indictment states that he had had correspondence with Romish refugees as early as 1584 for an invasion of Ireland by the Spaniards; that he was in confederacy with Sir Bryan O'Rurke; and that Sir William Stanley (see p. 30.) was his agent with the duke of Parma. Sir John's impetuosity of temper led him into some offensive remarks about the queen's interference with his government of Ireland, but the treason charged against him is very doubtful. He did not receive sentence of death until June 16, and it was not executed; he died in the Tower Nov. 3 following.

obedience," [35 Eliz. c. 1.] directed against the Puritans. Persons disputing the queen's ecclesiastical authority, abstaining from church, or attending "any assemblies, conventicles, or meetings, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion," were to be imprisoned until they conformed; if they did not do so in three months, they were to abjure the realm; if they refused to do so, or returned after abjuration, they were to be hanged.

Another act, of similar severity, was passed against "popish recusants," [c. 2.] Such were to repair to their own homes, and not to travel five miles therefrom; if they had not goods to satisfy the monthly fine of £20 for non-attendance at church, they were to abjure the realm; and if they refused to do so, to suffer as felons. Both Puritans and Romanists, however, might relieve themselves from the penalties of these acts, by reading a formal submission in the open church<sup>\*</sup>.

An act passed for the relief of sick and wounded

<sup>\*</sup> The Nonconformists' submission was to be thus worded: "I, A.B., do humbly confess and acknowledge that I have grievously offended God in contemning her Majesty's godly and lawful government and authority, by absenting myself from church, and from hearing divine service, contrary to the godly laws and statutes of this realm, and in using and frequenting disordered and unlawful conventicles and assemblies, under pretence and colour of exercise of religion; and I am heartily sorry for the same, and do acknowledge and testify in my conscience, that no other person hath, or ought to have, any power or authority over her Majesty; and I do promise and protest, without any dissimulation, or any colour or means of any dispensation, that from henceforth I will, from time to time, obey and perform her Majesty's laws and statutes, in repairing to the church and hearing divine service, and do my uttermost endeavour to maintain and defend the same." The Romanists' submission was the same, except omitting the mention of "unlawful conventicles and assemblies," and substituting for "no other person," "the bishop or see of Rome hath not, nor ought to have, any power or authority over her Majesty, or within any her Majesty's realms or dominions."

soldiers, [c. 4.] A weekly collection was to be made in every parish, to furnish quarterly pensions to persons "hurt, or maimed, or grievously sick;" but such recipients were forbidden to beg, on pain of forfeiting their pensions.

Henry Barrow, a lawyer, and John Greenwood, a clergyman, are convicted of writing "sundry seditious books, tending to the slander of the queen and state," March 23<sup>a</sup>; they are carried to Tyburn, but reprieved, March 31; they are executed April 6.

Henry Penry, another Brownist, is tried for "seditious words and rumours against the queen," [23 Eliz. c. 2—see p. 291,] May 25; he is executed, under circumstances of great haste and cruelty<sup>b</sup>, May 29.

Henry IV. formally abjures Protestantism<sup>c</sup>, July 25.

The isles of Scilly fortified<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> They belonged to the class of ultra-Puritans called Brownists (afterwards Barrowists); their books contained attacks on the Liturgy, and this, according to the judges, was to deny the royal supremacy. Two of their party had already suffered for this offence (see p. 293.) Three of their associates, who had dispersed the books, were also convicted, of whom one was banished, the other two died in prison.

<sup>b</sup> He was hurried from dinner to an unusual place of execution, (St. Thomas of Waterings, in the Kent-road,) and put to death without being allowed the ordinary time for declaration of his faith, or his allegiance to the queen, although he earnestly desired it. This unfortunate young man (he was but 34, and left a widow and young family) was a native of Wales, and had studied at both universities; he was the presumed chief author of the Mar-Prelate tracts, and had evinced extreme bitterness against both the rulers and the endowments of the Church, describing both as limbs of Antichrist. Penry led a wandering life for years, preaching in woods and fields, particularly in Wales, but was seized at Stepney, near London, and was convicted, not for his published writings, but for some loose memorandums found on him, the heads of a petition to the queen.

<sup>c</sup> Elizabeth herself wrote him a letter, severely reproving his unfaithfulness, and threatening to withdraw all assistance from him; but she afterwards changed her mind, and continued his firm ally, until he made peace with the Spaniards in 1598.

<sup>d</sup> This was rendered necessary by a design of the Spaniards to

A.D. 1594. Harrington, a seminary priest, executed\*, Feb. 18.

Roger Lopez, physician to the queen, is convicted of conspiring with the Count de Fuentes and other ministers of King Philip to poison her, Feb. 28. Two of his confederates (Stephen Ferrera da Gama and Emanuel Louis Tynoco, Portuguese refugees) are convicted, March 14.

Lopez was a Portuguese Jew, who had been captured in one of the ships of the Armada; his presumed skill in medicine had recommended him to the queen. As early as May, 1590, he entered into correspondence with the ministers of Philip as a spy; and in November, 1591, he received a jewel of gold and gems worth £100 for his services. In September, 1593, he made an offer to poison the queen for the sum of 50,000 crowns, to which Fuentes consented, and urged Lopez to hasten the matter, "that the king may have a merry Easter." Some of the letters are preserved in the indictments, and are most enigmatically worded; the payment for poisoning of the queen is spoken of as "the price of pearls" which Lopez has to sell; and the sum for procuring the burning of the fleet, which he had undertaken, is called "your determination about a little musk and amber which I am determined to buy."

Patrick O'Collun, a fencing-master, is convicted of having received a bribe of £30 to kill the queen, March 1; he is executed.

seize on them being discovered; the Spaniards were at this time in possession of part of Brittany, and their galleys paid plundering visits to Cornwall and Devon.

\* Stow records that "he was cut down alive, struggled with the hangman, but was bowelled and quartered."

Lopez and his associates are executed<sup>f</sup>, June 7.

The citizens of London provide six ships and two pinnaces, and 450 foot soldiers, for the queen's service<sup>g</sup>.

The earl of Tyrone<sup>h</sup> assumes the title of O'Neal, and foils various attempts made to reduce him to submission.

Brest is taken from the Spaniards by the troops of Henry IV., assisted by English ships, commanded by Sir Martin Forbisher, who is mortally wounded, in November.

A.D. 1595. Robert Southwell, a Jesuit<sup>i</sup>, is executed, Feb. 21.

<sup>f</sup> Their execution had been thus long delayed, in the hope of full information as to the designs of the Spaniards. They disappointed the expectation, and were, probably in consequence, treated even more cruelly than usual, as the whole summer's day was occupied with their execution. They were brought from the Tower to London-bridge, apparently on foot, then taken by water to Westminster, where, though called on to say what they could for themselves, they were soon silenced. Then they were delivered to the marshal of the queen's bench, who took them by water to Southwark-stairs, and thence to the Marshalsea; at London-bridge fort he gave them over to the sheriffs of London, who laid them on hurdles, and conveyed them over the bridge to Leadenhall (where Lopez had resided), and thence to Tyburn; and "there," says Stow, "they were hanged, cut down alive, holden down by strength of men, dismembered, bowelled, headed, and quartered, and their quarters set on the gates of the city."

<sup>g</sup> This was done in consequence of a precept from the queen, and was therefore a violation of the privileges of the citizens; it afforded a precedent for the writ of ship-money in the time of Charles I.

<sup>h</sup> He was the illegitimate grandson of the first earl, (see p. 193) and received a royal charter of confirmation, May 10, 1587. He had gained this by his services against the last earl of Desmond.

<sup>i</sup> He was of a gentleman's family in Norfolk, and was born about 1560; was educated at Douay, and came to England as a missionary in 1584. He was residing in the house of the countess of Arundel, when he was seized in May, 1592, and thrown into a dungeon in the Tower, and several times put to the torture. After three years' imprisonment, he was, on his own application, brought to trial, and was executed the next day, Lord Burghley, whom he had addressed, brutally remarking, that "if he was in such haste to be hanged, he should have his desire." Southwell was a writer of considerable

Some apprentices, and other unruly youths, raise a tumult on Tower-hill, Sunday evening, June 29. A proclamation is issued against such assemblies, July 4, and a provost-marshal (Sir Thomas Wilford) appointed for the city, with powers to punish by martial law<sup>k</sup>.

Penzance burnt by the Spaniards, July.

Drake and Hawkins sent against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies ; the expedition fails, and both commanders die of disease.

The queen demands repayment of her expenses from the Hollanders ; they pay a small part only.

The Lambeth Articles, which teach ultra-Calvinism, attempted to be imposed on the Church by A chbishop Whitgift, but withdrawn on the manifestation of the queen's displeasure<sup>l</sup>.

powers, and has left several pieces, both in prose and verse, that deserve to be better known than they are. Two stanzas, from a poem written during his imprisonment, "Upon the Picture of Death," are subjoined :—

"Before my face the picture hangs,  
That daily should put me in mind  
Of those cold names and bitter pangs  
That shortly I am like to find:  
But yet, alas ! full little I  
Do think thereon, that I must die.

\* \* \* \*

If none can 'scape Death's dreadful dart,  
If rich and poor his beck obey,  
If strong, if wise, if all do smart,  
Then I to 'scape shall have no way.  
Oh ! grant me grace, O God, that I  
My life may mend sith I must die."

<sup>k</sup> The whole affair was a mere street broil between the youths and the warders of the Tower ; but as a discharged soldier had mixed in the fray, sounding a trumpet, it was treated as "levying war against the queen's highness ;" and five apprentices were executed as traitors on Tower-hill, July 24.

<sup>l</sup> They were brought forward at the Hampton Court Conferences in 1604, and rejected, but were adopted by the Irish Church in 1615.



A.D. 1596. Calais is taken from the French by the Spaniards, April. While the siege was going on, offers of relief were sent from England, but declined<sup>m</sup>.

A large English and Dutch fleet sails from Plymouth early in June, captures Cadiz, ravages the coast of Spain, and returns with a vast booty in August<sup>n</sup>.

Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge, founded by Lady Frances Sydney, widow of Thomas Ratcliff, earl of Sussex.

The London merchants dispatch three ships to open a trade with the East Indies and China.

A.D. 1597. A fleet sails in May, under the earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh, against the Azores; they fail to capture them<sup>o</sup>.

The parliament meets October 24, and sits till Feb. 9, 1598.

An act passed for the punishment of "rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars<sup>p</sup>," [c. 4].

<sup>m</sup> On Good-Friday and Easter-day (April 9, 11) men were pressed in the churches, and sent towards Dover to embark, but were shortly set at liberty.

<sup>n</sup> The chief commanders were Lord Howard of Effingham and the earl of Essex. The mischief done to the Spaniards was very great, but would probably have been much greater if the proposal of Essex to remain in Cadiz with the land forces had been adopted. He had set at liberty some Moorish galley-slaves, and through them had opened a communication with the revolted Moors of the south of Spain, who were as grievously oppressed by the bigoted Philip on account of their religion as the Netherlanders had been, and were ready to join the invaders.

<sup>o</sup> They ravaged some of the islands, but missed the Indian fleet; disputes arose between the commanders, and they were enemies ever after.

<sup>p</sup> These appellations are given in the statute to all able-bodied persons who refuse to work for ordinary wages: any such was to be whipped and passed on to his native place, "there to put himself to labour as a true subject ought to do." In connexion with the subject of vagrancy and pauperism it may be mentioned that overseers of the poor were appointed by statute in 1601, [43 Eliz. c. 1].

The queen's general pardon granted [c. 28], from which are excepted "all offences committed or done against the ecclesiastical estate or government established in this realm, or any heresy or schism in religion whatsoever<sup>a</sup>."

A.D. 1598. Henry IV. grants toleration to the Protestants, by the Edict of Nantes, which is declared "perpetual and irrevocable," April. He shortly after makes peace with the Spaniards.

Jones, or Buckley, a seminary priest, executed, July 12.

The earl of Cumberland (George Clifford) fits out an expedition to the West Indies, and plunders Porto Rico.

Philip II. of Spain dies, Sept. 13.

Edward Squyer<sup>r</sup>, convicted of attempting to poison the queen, is executed, Nov. 13.

The queen's declining health gives rise to speculations as to her successor. The secretary Cecil<sup>s</sup> enters

<sup>a</sup> This pardon, as was usual, was to be "construed most beneficially for the subjects," but the list of matters excepted from it is so long as hardly to leave any offender to profit by it.

<sup>r</sup> He was a soldier on board Essex's fleet against the Azores in the preceding year, and being taken prisoner, was, according to his indictment, induced to undertake the task of killing the queen, by the persuasion of one Wulpole, an English priest, in the service of Philip of Spain. Walpole is recorded to have administered the eucharist to him, and assured him that if he succeeded "he should be a glorious saint in heaven." Then he embraced him, "throwing his left arm about his neck, and making the sign of a cross on his head, saying, 'God bless thee, and give thee strength, my son, and be of good courage; I will pawn my soul for thine, and thou shalt have my prayers both dead and alive, and full pardon of all thy sins.'"

<sup>s</sup> Robert Cecil, a younger son of the minister Burghley, was born about 1565, and, though weakly and deformed, yet served in the fleet against the Spanish Armada. He kept about the court, and on the death of Walsingham succeeded to his office. On the arrival of James in England, Cecil became his chief adviser, was made

into a secret correspondence with James of Scotland; others bring forward the pretensions of Arabella Stuart<sup>t</sup>.

A.D. 1599. Great preparations made against a threatened invasion from Spain; the earl of Nottingham is made lieutenant-general of the kingdom, as well by sea as land.

O'Neal having foiled various commanders<sup>u</sup> sent against him, the earl of Essex is, at his own request, appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, March 12; he lands at Dublin April 15.

Essex wastes his army with fruitless marches, but without fighting; holds a suspicious secret conference with O'Neal, and then suddenly leaves Ireland Sept. 24. He abruptly presents himself before the queen at Nonsuch, Sept. 28.

The earl is committed to the custody of the lord keeper (Sir Thomas Egerton), October 2, and Lord Mountjoy (Charles Blount) is sent as his successor into Ireland.

A.D. 1600. Sixteen priests and four Romish laymen removed from the prisons about London to Wisbech castle.

earl of Salisbury in 1605, and died May 24, 1612. The younger Cecil is usually esteemed more subtle and more implacable than his father; and the ruin of both Essex and Raleigh is generally ascribed to him.

<sup>t</sup> She was cousin to James, and was believed to incline to Romanism. Raleigh, who was governor of Jersey, supported her claim, as did lord Cobham, warden of the Cinque Ports, and the majority of the Romanists.

<sup>u</sup> Sir John Norris, famous for his services in Flanders, France, Portugal, and elsewhere, was censured for ill success against him, and died of vexation soon after, and Sir Henry Bagnal received a total defeat at Blackwater, Aug. 14, 1598. Pope Clement VIII. sent O'Neal a consecrated plume (said to be of phoenix feathers), and declared his followers to be entitled to all the indulgences granted to the ancient crusaders.

Negotiations for peace with Spain entered into at Boulogne, in May, but without success.

The earl of Essex is examined before the council, and ordered to keep himself to his own house<sup>x</sup>, June 5.

Five priests and two laymen executed in London, Durham, and Lincoln, June and July; one layman for being reconciled, the other for relieving a priest, who was hanged with him.

Ambassadors received from the king of Barbary, who profess to desire a commercial treaty, but are looked on as spies.

James of Scotland is seized by Lord Gowrie and his brother Alexander Ruthven<sup>y</sup>, Aug. 5, but rescued by his attendants.

Essex makes attempts to regain the queen's favour, and being repulsed, enters into negotiations with James of Scotland; he also leagues with Romanists as well as Puritans, and at length concert a scheme for driving Cecil, Raleigh, and other opponents from the court.

A charter for exclusive trade to the East Indies and China is granted to certain merchants of London<sup>z</sup>, Dec. 31.

A.D. 1601. The earl of Essex imprisons the coun-

<sup>x</sup> He had been in custody of the lord keeper from the October preceding.

<sup>y</sup> They were the sons of the earl of Gowrie executed in 1584 (see p. 295.) According to the king's own account, he was decoyed while hunting to their castle, when an armed man threatened him with a dagger, but his guards forced their way in, and the Ruthvens were killed. The transaction, usually called the Gowrie plot, is one of the most obscure in Scottish history.

<sup>z</sup> This was the origin of the English East India Company. They dispatched five ships in the following year, under the command of James Lancaster; a very profitable trade was the result, and the vessels, after visiting Sumatra and Java, reached the Downs in safety, Sept. 11, 1603.

cillors<sup>a</sup> sent to him to warn him to desist from an alleged attempt to seize the queen's person, Sunday, Feb. 8; he then marches into the city, accompanied by the earls of Rutland and Southampton (Roger Manners and Henry Wriothesley) and William, lord Sandys, and "a multitude of armed men," but not being joined by the citizens, returns by water to Essex house, and at ten at night surrenders to the earl of Nottingham<sup>b</sup>. He is tried (Lord Buckhurst being lord steward) on a charge, among other things, of endeavouring to "raise himself to the royal dignity," Feb. 19, is found guilty, and is executed Feb. 25<sup>c</sup>.

John Pybush, a seminarist, is executed, after seven years' imprisonment, Feb. 18; two others, and a widow lady who had assisted a priest, are executed Feb. 27.

A body of Spaniards land in Ireland, and fortify Kinsale, Sept.

The parliament meets October 27, and sits till Dec. 19.

<sup>a</sup> They were Sir Thomas Egerton, Henry Somerset, earl of Worcester, Sir William Knollys, and Sir John Popham. When he went into the city he left them in the care of Sir John Davyes, Francis Tresham and Owen Salysburye, "many of the rebels then assembled, crying aloud, Kill them! kill them!" but they were released after a confinement of a few hours, and before his return.

<sup>b</sup> Charles Howard, formerly lord Howard of Effingham. See p. 319.

<sup>c</sup> The earl of Southampton was tried with him and was found guilty, but his life was spared. Indictments were also found against William, lord Sandys, and Edward, lord Cromwell, Sir Edmund Bayneham, and 30 other knights and gentlemen, among whose names appear those of several of the Gunpowder Plot conspirators, as Catesby, Tresham, and Christopher and John Wright, but comparatively few of them were brought to trial; they were instead imprisoned, and paid heavy fines. On Feb. 28, a young man, named Woodcock, was hanged for speaking in condemnation of the arrest of Essex. On Feb. 20, Sir Edmund Bayneham and two others were found guilty, and on March 5, Sir Christopher Blunt and four others were condemned, of whom Sir Gellis Merrick and Henry Cuffe were executed March 13, and Sir Christopher Blunt and Sir Charles Danvers, March 18.

Payment of black mail (stated to be common in the northern parts) forbidden [43 Eliz. c. 13].

A.D. 1602. Sir Richard Levison and Sir Richard Monson are sent with a fleet against the Spaniards; they fail in capturing the Indian ships, but burn a fleet of galleys at Coimbra.

Sir Robert Mansel destroys a squadron of Spanish galleys in the English Channel.

A proclamation issued for pulling down newly built houses in and within three miles of London and Westminster<sup>d</sup>.

The Spaniards in Kinsale are obliged to capitulate, June; Tyrone soon after makes his submission, and is pardoned.

A.D. 1603. Anderson, a seminary priest, is executed, Feb. 17.

The queen dies at Richmond, March 24; she is buried in the chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster, April 28.

<sup>d</sup> "Little was done," says Stow, "and small effect followed, more than of other the like proclamations beforetime made," [see p. 290.] "and also an act of parliament to that purpose" [35 Eliz. c. 6, "against new buildings," passed in 1593]; "these cities are still increased in building of cottages and pestered with inmates, to the great infection and other annoyances of them both." The law, however, was not suffered entirely to remain a dead letter, commissions of inquiry being frequently issued, particularly in the time of Charles I., which raised large sums by composition with the offenders; which practice was revived under the Commonwealth.

## THE STUARTS.

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Badges of the Stuarts.

THE royal House of Stuart was, equally with the Plantagenets, descended from our Anglo-Saxon kings, and in the person of James VI. it succeeded to the throne of Great Britain free from the stain of either the Lancastrian or the Tudor usurpation. From Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling, was descended Robert Bruce<sup>a</sup>; his daughter Margery married Robert the Steward, and their son became king of Scotland, as Robert II., in 1371<sup>b</sup>. Seven kings and one queen of his house reigned in Scotland alone, and five more in Great Britain, their rule extending over a period of 343 years (A.D. 1371—1714), of which the last twenty-six years are, as embracing the reigns of the limited monarchs, William and Mary, and Anne, strikingly distinguished from the long preceding period, which, though unbroken by usurpation, was generally of a stormy character, from the ill-defined nature of the regal rights and

<sup>a</sup> See vol. i. p. 351.

<sup>b</sup> See vol. i. p. 395

duties, and harassed during much of the time by contests with England, often caused by the intrigues of France, whose unequal alliance was more disastrous to Scotland than her hostility could have been.

The reign of Charles I. is especially memorable for a fierce outbreak ostensibly in the cause of civil and religious liberty, in the course of which the whole fabric of government, in Church and State, both in England and in Scotland, suffered a total, though happily but temporary, subversion. This struggle between the Church and its Puritan opponents was, like preceding convulsions, providentially overruled for good, but the character of the parties to it is too often misrepresented. The reverence for authority, which was the great actuating motive of the royal party, has been unjustly described as a love of slavery, and the Puritans have been held up as the champions of liberty<sup>c</sup>, while they were in reality bent on destroying all reasonable government, without which true freedom is impossible, and the whole course of their conduct shews that the maxim of "No bishop, no king," ascribed to James I., is perfectly just. It was absolutely necessary to curb them if either Church or State was to be preserved, and their stubbornness rendered mild measures unavailing; those taken would probably not have been so severely condemned as they have been, had they succeeded; though harsh in themselves, they were not unusual in their day, and they were justified in the consciences of those who employed them by the duty of

<sup>c</sup> How little the Puritans were inclined to grant to others the liberty of conscience which they had so loudly demanded for themselves, was shewn by innumerable instances during the period of their unhappy ascendancy. See Notes and Illustrations.



upholding insulted authority, and cannot fairly be said to have sprung from any purpose of persecution.

Several of the Stuart rulers were remarkable for their talents and their literary acquirements<sup>d</sup>, but they are still better known for the uninterrupted series of calamities which befel them. Robert II. was a prince of mild character, whose authority was entirely disregarded by his nobles ; his son, Robert III., was a mere tool in the hands of his brother, the duke of Albany, and through his machinations he lost both of his sons, dying himself of grief ; James I. passed many years in an English prison, and was at last murdered by his nobles ; James II. was killed at the siege of Roxburgh ; James III. was slain when fleeing from a field where he had been defeated by his own son ; that son (James IV.) fell at Flodden-field ; James V. was foiled in an invasion of England, and died soon after ; his daughter Mary ended her unhappy life on the scaffold ; the death of James VI. (or I.) was supposed to be accelerated by grief at the misfortunes of his daughter and son-in-law (the Elector Palatine) ; Charles I., after a long civil war, was publicly put to death by his subjects, and his sons fared little better ; Charles II. regained the throne after years of exile, but by his ill government prepared the way for the expulsion of his brother, James II., who died a pensioner of France. Mary II. and Anne can hardly be regarded as more fortunate, as they only obtained the

<sup>d</sup> James I., James V., and Mary were poets, and their works are yet read with pleasure ; James VI. wrote on many subjects, both in prose and verse, and with very considerable difference of merit ; and if the claim of the authorship of "Eikon Basilike" put forward for Charles I. could be satisfactorily established, he also would rank among distinguished writers.

throne through the exile of their father. James's son and grandson attempted to recover their kingdoms, but their efforts were unsuccessful, and the last of their House, who was an ecclesiastic, and known as Cardinal York, lived a recipient of the bounty of the House of Brunswick \*.

From the time that England and Scotland came under the same ruler by the succession of James VI. to the throne lately occupied by Elizabeth, the arms of the two countries have been borne on the same shield, with the addition of the harp for Ireland. The roses, both red and white, the fleur-de-lis, the thistle, and the harp (all crowned), appear as badges, and the royal supporters have usually been the lion and the unicorn<sup>f</sup>, as seen at the present day.

\* He died in 1808.

<sup>f</sup> Charles I. occasionally employed an antelope and a stag, both ducally collared and chained.



James I., from his Great Seal.



Arms of James I.

## JAMES I.

**JAMES VI.** of Scotland and **I.** of Great Britain, was the only child of Mary, queen of Scots, by Henry, Lord Darnley, and was born in the castle of Edinburgh, June 19, 1566. Early in the following year his father was murdered; in a few months more his mother was obliged to resign her crown, and James was proclaimed king while an infant of little more than a twelvemonth old, July 24, 1567.

His infancy had a rapid succession of governors<sup>s</sup>, three of whom perished by violence, and in his 14th year he assumed the reins of power, but it was only to give them into the hands of worthless favourites, who

<sup>s</sup> The earl of Murray, his uncle, was the first; Matthew, earl of Lenox (the king's grandfather), succeeded him; then came Erskine, earl of Mar, who was followed by James Douglas, earl of Morton, a mere tool of the English ministers; Mar alone of the four died a natural death.

quarreled among themselves<sup>b</sup>, yet kept such a correspondence with the English court as obliged their young and needy king to witness the judicial murder of his mother without an effort either to save or to avenge her. His own liberty was abridged, and his life apparently endangered, through hatred caused by their misconduct, as at the Raid of Ruthven, in 1582, and the Gowrie Plot, in 1600<sup>c</sup>.

Though Elizabeth deferred the indication of her successor to the latest hour of her life, her courtiers felt assured that it could be no other than James of Scotland, and they paid their court to him so assiduously in her declining years as to cause her abundant anxiety; at length she died, and James, in his thirty-seventh year, became king of England, without the shadow of opposition.

He was scarcely established in his new kingdom, however, when discontents began to appear. He had, while in poverty in Scotland, made promises both to the Romanists and to the Puritans of something like toleration; but he at once joined himself to the Established Church, which gave them occasion to charge him with insincerity, and, apparently, to unite for the purpose of de-throning him<sup>d</sup>. This scheme failed, as did the revolting Gunpowder Plot, and the rest of his reign was passed

<sup>b</sup> See pp. 289, 292.

<sup>c</sup> See pp. 292, 321.

<sup>d</sup> Some writers have supposed that the whole was a base contrivance of Cecil to get rid of Raleigh and others, who had courted the friendship of James as eagerly as he had himself, and were likely to prove successful rivals in the distribution of honours and rewards. Without accepting this solution, it is still difficult to conceive what objects could be common to Romish priests, Puritans, and professed free-thinkers, or atheists, as they were then termed; yet such men were found among the conspirators, and James's lenity has been taken as a presumption of their innocence; only the priests and one gentleman suffered death.

in coercing his Scottish subjects into a temporary re-acceptance of episcopal government, and in quarrels with his English parliaments; the latter were often hastily dissolved, and their members imprisoned, but they remonstrated freely on matters both of Church and State, impeached his ministers, controlled his foreign policy, and exhibited unmistakable tokens of that puritanical, republican spirit which led his unhappy successor to the scaffold. Commerce, however, flourished; the newly opened trade with India was steadily pursued, and many attempts were made by Hudson, Baffin, and others to discover a north-western passage; America, too, began to be systematically settled by the English.

James's conduct towards foreign states was weak and discreditable. There is no reason to doubt that he was a sincere Protestant; but his exalted notions of the kingly dignity<sup>\*</sup> led him to side with the Romanists rather than the Protestants, from dislike to the republican form of government<sup>1</sup>. On the same ground he eagerly sought alliances for his sons with the royal families of France and Spain, regardless of the apprehensions of his people on the score of religion; and to attain his ends he did not hesitate to sign treaties promising a toleration of Romanism, which was directly contrary to the statutes of his kingdom, and could only have been carried out by his exer-

<sup>\*</sup> He told his parliament, that as it was blasphemy to question what the Almighty could do by His power, so it was sedition to inquire what a king could do by virtue of his prerogative; and he suffered Dr. Cowell, a civilian, in his book "The Interpreter," to ascribe to the kings of England the absolute power of the Roman emperors; the commons resented this, and James was obliged to forbid the circulation of the work.

<sup>1</sup> He was easily persuaded that the Hollanders were "an ill example for a monarch to cherish."

cising the power he was so unwise as sometimes to claim, of being superior to all law ; his project failed, as regarded Spain, and he was involved in a war against that power (reluctantly undertaken, though the dominions of his son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, were at stake<sup>a</sup>,) at the time of his death, which occurred at his hunting-seat of Theobalda, near Cheshunt, March 27, 1625. He was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel, Westminster.

James married, in 1590, Anne of Denmark, daughter of Frederic II. She was born in 1574, was handsome, active, and intriguing, but seems to have had far less influence over her husband than his unworthy favourites, Carr<sup>a</sup> and Villiers<sup>o</sup>, exercised. She was fond of pomp

<sup>a</sup> A quarrel concerning Church property in Bohemia, between the Romanists and the Protestants, occasioned the latter to attempt to throw off the rule of the house of Austria ; the Elector Palatine was chosen king by the insurgents, but the attempt miscarried, and in the end he lost even his paternal states, dying broken-hearted in the year 1632.

<sup>a</sup> Robert Carr, a younger son of a family on the Scottish border that had suffered in the cause of Mary of Scotland, was early received as the king's page, and was knighted at his coronation in England. The high offices of lord-treasurer and lord-chamberlain were soon bestowed on him, he was made a knight of the Garter, and created viscount Rochester and earl of Somerset. He at length contracted an infamous marriage with Frances, daughter of the earl of Suffolk, the divorced wife of the earl of Essex, and from this circumstance his ruin may be dated. He and his wife were convicted in 1616 of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, who had opposed their union, though it seems probable that she only was guilty. Somerset was imprisoned until 1621, and being then released, lived in comparative poverty to the time of his death, in 1645, his wretched wife, who had confessed herself a murderess, having died in 1632.

<sup>o</sup> George Villiers, the son of a Leicestershire knight, was born in 1592. He was early sent abroad, and on his return in 1615, he attracted James's notice, was made a gentleman of the chamber, and so grew in favour, that in less than three years he was appointed master of the horse, knight of the Garter, chief justice north of Trent, Lord Whaddon, Viscount Villiers, and earl of Buckingham. He afterwards attained the higher dignities of marquis and duke, and was as great a favourite with Charles I. as he had been with his father. His conduct, however, had a very unhappy influence on the relations between the former monarch and his people ; he was

and pageantry, involved James in difficulties through her extravagant expenses, and was suspected of carrying on a secret correspondence with Rome<sup>p</sup>. She died March 1, 1619, and was buried at Westminster, May 13.

Their children were,—

Henry, born Feb. 19, 1593, to whom Queen Elizabeth was godmother. He was created prince of Wales, and made a knight in 1610, on which occasion a feudal aid was demanded, and reluctantly paid, though the young prince was himself popular, being looked on as likely to prove an enterprising king. He died, greatly regretted, Nov. 6, 1612.

CHARLES became king.

Elizabeth, born Aug. 19, 1596, was married in 1612 to the Elector Palatine; she became for a short time queen of Bohemia, and, after a life of great vicissitudes, died in London, Feb. 13, 1662. The princes Rupert and Maurice, who bore so conspicuous a part in the civil wars, were her sons; and her daughter Sophia was the mother of the first king of the House of Brunswick, George I.

Robert and Mary died young.

A material alteration in the royal arms marked the

impeached, and, though screened from parliamentary vengeance by his master, fell a victim to assassination, Aug. 23, 1628. He had married the daughter of the earl of Rutland, a rich heiress, and he left two sons, one killed in the civil war, and the other the profligate minister of Charles II., condemned to an odious immortality as the *Zimri* of Dryden.

<sup>p</sup> She is said to have received large sums from the Romish nobility and gentry, to procure them relief from the various penal laws, in consequence of which their enactments were, in general, only enforced against the poor recusants, with whom the prisons were crowded.

reign of this king. France and England appear in the first and fourth quarters; Scotland in the second; Ireland in the third; all within the garter, and crowned. The Scottish unicorn became the sinister supporter, Elizabeth's motto was soon replaced by "*BEATI PACIFICI*;" and the thistle, sometimes dimidiated with the rose, appeared in addition to her royal badges.

In judging of the character of James, it is necessary to make ample allowance for the unfavourable circumstances under which he grew up. His poverty rendered him a mere tool in the hands of the English ministers, and he was obliged to submit to many mortifications at the hands of his native subjects, which gave him a fixed dislike to Presbyterianism. When he came to England, the clergy of the Church offered, by their deferential compliance with his wishes, and their expressed admiration of his learning, a gratifying contrast to the stern, if not rude manners of the Scots; he resolved at once to identify himself with episcopacy, and was easily persuaded that its enemies were also enemies to monarchy. Events have proved that this conclusion was perfectly just, but James did not possess the firmness to curb his parliaments as his predecessor had done, and his imprudent measures only prepared the way for the ruin of his successor.

James had been carefully educated by the celebrated George Buchanan, and he was the author of several works, both in prose and poetry, which, though now censured as pedantic, shew him to have possessed a cultivated mind, and a style quite equal to the generality of writers of his time; he also aspired to theological learning, and founded a seminary for champions in the Romish



controversy<sup>q</sup>. His amusements, however, were of the coarsest description : cock-fighting, bull, bear, and lion-baiting<sup>r</sup>, and the more ordinary field sports occupied his time to the utter neglect of public affairs, which his ministers managed almost at their own pleasure. Though his jealous fears brought his unhappy cousin, Arabella Stuart<sup>s</sup>, to destruction, and his wish for the Spanish alliance led him to sacrifice Raleigh, he was, on principle, averse to bloodshed, and habitually merciful in his dealings with offenders ; he was a patron of learning<sup>t</sup>, and

<sup>q</sup> It was founded May 8, 1610, for a provost and 20 fellows, Dr. Sutcliff, dean of Exeter, being the originator of the design. The plan failed, and the buildings were never completed ; after long serving as a prison they were pulled down in the time of Charles II. and the well-known Chelsea Hospital for invalided soldiers erected on the site.

<sup>r</sup> Stow, in his Chronicle, records the care taken for the accommodation of the wild beasts in the Tower, and the frequent combats between them and fierce dogs in the presence of the court, in as grave a style as if he were dealing with the most important public affairs.

<sup>s</sup> She was the daughter of Charles, earl of Lenox, his father's brother, and was by some lawyers considered to have a better title to the crown than the king himself. One of the objects attributed to Raleigh and others was to raise her to the throne, and she was in consequence held in a kind of honourable custody to prevent her marriage. She was, however, clandestinely united to William Seymour, Lord Beauchamp (afterwards duke of Somerset, also a descendant of Henry VII.) in 1611, attempted to escape with him to the continent, but was retaken, and died in the Tower in 1615. She was buried beside Mary, queen of Scots, and prince Henry, but without funeral pomp, "lest," says Camden, "it should seem to reflect on the king's justice."

<sup>t</sup> Two eminent men of his era may be mentioned, Sir Edward Coke and Sir Francis Bacon. The first was born in Norfolk in 1554, and was a member of Trinity College, Cambridge. He became eminent as a lawyer, was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1593, and long held the office of attorney-general, in which post he shewed much acuteness, though little gratitude, in prosecuting to conviction the earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh, as well as the Gunpowder Plot conspirators, whom he alike overwhelmed with the coarsest language. In 1606 Coke was made a judge, but he fell into disgrace after the trial of the murderers of Sir Thomas Overbury. He endeavoured to gain the protection of the favourite, Buckingham,

promoted the present translation of the Holy Scriptures ; and, though weak and vain, he must be considered a kindly-disposed, well-meaning man, although unfortunately a very indifferent king.

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A.D. 1603. James of Scotland is proclaimed king by the council in London, March 24 ; messengers are dispatched to him<sup>a</sup>, and he commences his journey for

but failing in this, from a vehement defender of prerogative he became conspicuous for his opposition to the measures of the court. He was in consequence imprisoned at one time, and at another made sheriff, in order to disqualify him from a seat in parliament ; and on his death, which happened in the year 1634, his papers were seized, though without finding anything to justify the levy of a fine on his heir. He was the author of works which are of authority in the courts of law to the present day, but his conduct as a judge has been censured, and as a member of parliament was clearly the result of faction.

Francis Bacon was born in 1561, and was the son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and nephew of Lord Burghley. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and when only sixteen was sent abroad in the suite of Sir Amias Paulet, ambassador to France. On his return he studied the law, attained in succession the offices of attorney-general, lord keeper, and lord chancellor, and was made a peer, as viscount St. Alban's. But this seeming prosperity proved his ruin ; though a profound philosopher, and worthy of the highest honour for his scientific researches and writings, he was a weak, vain, ostentatious man, and involved himself in debts, to relieve which he was said to receive bribes from suitors in his court ; the charge was believed, and, after a brief tenure of office, he was impeached, condemned, and sentenced to fine and imprisonment, though it does not appear that any of his judgments were reversed as unjust. Bacon descended to the most abject supplications to the king, and was soon set at liberty, his fine also being remitted. He lived in retirement for a few years, and then died rather suddenly, April 9, 1626.

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Nevil, dean of Canterbury, dispatched by Archbishop Whitgift, was one of the earliest of these, and was gratified by the king's declaration of his firm intention to maintain the Church in the state his predecessors had left it. The Puritans met him on the road with what they termed the Millenary Petition, from the thousand ministers, "all groaning as under a common burden of human rites and ceremonies," who were expected to, but did not sign it. The Universities issued formal replies to its allegations, which were also discussed at the Hampton Court conferences.

England, reaching Berwick April 6, and London May 7; he is crowned, with his queen, at Westminster, July 25.

Attempts are made to re-establish the Romish worship in Ireland, but they are checked by the deputy (Lord Mountjoy).

A conspiracy to place Arabella Stuart on the throne is discovered. Sir Walter Raleigh, the lords Cobham and Grey, are seized, in July, together with several partisans.

Many new peers created, as also knights of the Bath, and knights bachelor<sup>v</sup>.

Sir Walter Raleigh and the other prisoners are removed early in November to Winchester, and there tried and convicted, but three only are executed<sup>w</sup>.

A.D. 1604. Conferences held before the king at Hampton Court, between the archbishop of Canterbury, eight bishops, five deans, and two doctors, and Dr. Reynolds and three other of the Puritan party, Jan. 14, 15, 16. Some slight alterations in the Book of Common Prayer are agreed on, and a new version of the Holy Scriptures ordered.

Jesuits and seminary priests ordered to quit the realm before March 19, by proclamation dated Feb. 22.

<sup>v</sup> The knights bachelor alone, according to Stow, amounted to "three or four hundred," a profusion in the bestowal of honours, which contrasted strangely with the conduct of the deceased queen.

<sup>w</sup> George Brooke, Bartholomew Brookesby, Anthony Copley, Sir Griffin Markham, and two priests, William Clarke and William Watson, were convicted, and Sir Edward Parham acquitted, Nov. 15; Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned Nov. 17; Lord Cobham, Nov. 25; Lord Grey, Nov. 26. Brooke (brother to Lord Cobham) was beheaded Dec. 5; Clarke and Watson were hanged Nov. 29; Cobham, Grey, and Markham were reprieved on the scaffold, Dec. 9. Lord Grey died in the Tower in 1616; Cobham was, after a long imprisonment, released, and died in poverty in 1619; Sir Griffin Markham, Copley, and Brookesby were banished.

Archbishop Whitgift dies, Feb. 29; he is succeeded (Dec. 10) by Richard Bancroft<sup>‡</sup>, bishop of London.

The parliament meets March 19, and sits until July 7. The king addresses a speech to them, in which he recommends the union of England and Scotland; professes himself a member of the Church of England; and censures the doubtful loyalty of the Romanists, and "the sect rather than religion of the Puritans and Novellists."

The first act of the parliament was "a most joyful and just recognition of the immediate, lawful, and undoubted succession, descent, and right of the crown" [1 Jac. I. c. 1; commissioners were appointed to treat with the Scots for the union of the two countries [c. 2]; the statutes of Elizabeth against Jesuits, seminary priests, and recusants in general, were confirmed [c. 4]; and, to correct an abuse that had prevailed in her days, bishops were disabled to alienate any of the possessions of their sees [c. 3]; tunnage and poundage<sup>‡</sup> were granted to

<sup>‡</sup> He was a Lancashire man, born in 1544. He had been chaplain to Whitgift, having gained his notice by his active opposition to the Puritans at Cambridge, while he was college tutor. He preached a celebrated sermon at Paul's-cross, in 1589, which gave great offence to many of the courtiers, as he truly remarked that the main cause of the complaints daily made against the governors of the Church was the desire to possess their revenues; he was, however, favourably noticed by the queen, was in 1597 made bishop of London, and attended her at her death. Bishop Bancroft bore a leading part in the Hampton Court conferences, and, shortly after becoming primate, he held the Puritanical party in check; the well-known canons of 1604 were prepared under his direction, and he laboured to re-establish episcopacy in Scotland. He died Nov. 2, 1610, and was buried at Lambeth.

<sup>‡</sup> These, the original of our present customs duties, consisted, beside some less important matters, of a duty of 8s. on each tun of wine imported, and of 1s. in the pound on the value of other goods; aliens generally paid double. The preamble states that these duties had been enjoyed, time out of mind, by the king's predecessors, "by authority of parliament, for defence of the realm and keeping and

the king [c. 33]; and as the plague raged at the time provision was made for a rate for the support of the infected [c. 31], who were not to leave their houses, "having any infectious sores uncured," under the penalty of death. Another act [c. 12] declared witchcraft felony without benefit of clergy.

The convocation meets, under the presidency of Bancroft, bishop of London; a book of Canons, prepared by him, is accepted by the convocation, and assented to by the king<sup>a</sup>.

A treaty of peace and commerce concluded with the king of Spain and the archdukes of Austria, Aug. 18. The king binds himself thereby to give no further aid to the "Hollanders, or other enemies of the king of Spain and the archdukes," and to endeavour to procure a peace between them and the restoration of the cautionary towns<sup>a</sup>. In return, commercial privileges were granted<sup>b</sup>,

safeguard of the seas." They had been granted, in similar terms, ever since the time of Edward IV., but only for the life of each monarch; Charles I. neglected this constitutional practice, and levied them as on his own authority, a step which had the most fatal consequences.

<sup>a</sup> These canons, 141 in number, are mainly a republication of older ones, but some new ones were introduced, which authoritatively condemn the dogmas of the Puritans; hence they have been represented, though unjustly, as merely designed to augment the power of the Church; they have never received parliamentary sanction, and therefore are considered by the courts of common law to be obligatory on the clergy only.

<sup>a</sup> See p. 298. The king was bound by treaty not to give up these towns to the Spaniards; but he declared that if the States refused to enter into a pacification, he should consider himself at liberty to act as he should judge just and honourable regarding them; meanwhile his garrisons were forbidden to take any further part in the war.

<sup>b</sup> Among these was the liberty of carrying goods from Germany to Spain; but as it was to be apprehended that the English merchants would allow the use of their names and ships to the Hollanders, this was strictly forbidden, as was any connivance of English

and "moderation to be had in the proceedings of the Inquisition" against the king's subjects repairing for trade to Spain.

The king is proclaimed "King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland<sup>c</sup>," Oct. 24.

A. D. 1605. Richard Haydock, a physician, who professed to preach in his sleep against certain points of Church discipline<sup>d</sup>, is convicted of imposture, and makes a public recantation.

Several Scottish ministers hold a synod, without license, at Aberdeen, July 2, and when questioned by the privy council of Scotland, deny the king's supremacy<sup>e</sup>.

## THE GUNPOWDER PLOT.

A plot to blow up the king and the parliament with gunpowder is disclosed about the end of October.

This atrocious scheme of a few fanatical Romanists<sup>f</sup> seems to have originated with Robert Catesby, a gen-

magistrates, "upon peril of the king's majesty's indignation, loss of their offices, and other more grievous punishments to be inflicted at the king's pleasure." The Hollanders regarded themselves as abandoned; and a dislike grew up between the two nations, which resulted in the massacre of Amboyna, and the naval wars of the time of the Commonwealth.

<sup>c</sup> Up to this period the title of "King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland" had been used.

<sup>d</sup> Like other Puritans he inveighed against the pope, but his discourses were chiefly in condemnation of the use of the cross in baptism, and of the newly-enacted canons (see p. 339). The king had him brought to court, listened to his declamation, and detected the cheat.

<sup>e</sup> Six of them were tried and condemned as traitors, but they were only banished.

<sup>f</sup> Several of them were recent converts. Such was Catesby; he had been engaged in Essex's insurrection, as had some of the others. Fawkes had but recently returned from abroad, and he appears to have been a mere soldier of fortune, and the hired servant of the rest, who were all gentlemen of property.

tleman of Northamptonshire, who had suffered severely in the last reign for recusancy, and in revenge had been long engaged in endeavouring to bring about an invasion of England by the Spaniards. He seemed likely to succeed in this, an army, to land at Milford-haven, and a large sum of money, being promised him, when the death of the queen caused an alteration in the policy of the Spaniards; they wished to detach King James from the cause of the Hollanders, and having succeeded in this, they refused to listen longer to the solicitations of Catesby and his associates. There being now no prospect of success from foreign princes, Catesby ventured to suggest to a few chosen associates, and under an oath of secrecy, that they should strike a blow themselves. This was agreed to, though they had much difference as to what it should be; some proposed to seize the king when hunting, and force a toleration from him; others urged his assassination; but Catesby was not satisfied with either, and he at length induced them to attempt the destruction of both king and parliament by gunpowder<sup>z</sup>, madly expecting to receive such aid from English Romanists in the Low Countries as would enable them to seize the government and re-establish Romanism<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>z</sup> This plot is usually spoken of as unprecedented in its nature, but such is not the case; Swedish history furnishes two instances of gunpowder plots, real or pretended. Christian II. made such a plot the pretext for his barbarous executions at Stockholm, in 1520; and in 1633 the regency of Lubec engaged some Germans to blow up Gustavus Vasa, while holding the diet, but the plan was discovered on the very eve of its execution.

<sup>h</sup> He reconciled those whose fanaticism was less fierce than his own to this horrible deed, by saying that it would appear like a heavenly judgment when even the very building was destroyed where laws had been passed against their faith. It seems probable

Catesby's confidants at first were only Thomas Percy, a relative of the earl of Northumberland, and one of the band of pensioners; Thomas Winter, a Worcestershire gentleman, who had managed the negotiations with Spain; John Wright and Robert Keys, gentlemen, of London; Thomas Bates, a trusty servant of Catesby; and Guy Fawkes, an experienced soldier from the Netherlands. They proposed to effect their horrible purpose when the parliament met in February, 1605; and, accordingly, Percy hired a house close adjoining, where, in December, 1604, they shut themselves in, with twenty days' store of provisions, and laboured until Christmas in digging through the wall, Fawkes, on whose vigilance, as the only experienced military man among them, they greatly relied, keeping watch. They resumed their labours after Christmas, but, finding themselves unequal to the task, they associated Christopher Wright and Robert Winter with them, the whole taking an oath of secrecy, and promising not to desist from their purpose, at the hands of Henry Garnett, John Gerrard, and Oswald Tesmond, Jesuits, who, indeed, are charged with being the originators of the design; but this has not been satisfactorily proved<sup>h</sup>.

that it was intended to warn members of their own creed not to attend the house at its opening, in ambiguous terms, as was done to lord Monteagle, and perhaps to others; it is certain that the earl of Northumberland absented himself from the parliament, as did the lords Montague, Mordaunt, and Stourton, for which they were all prosecuted in the Star-chamber.

<sup>h</sup> It seems quite certain, however, that they were cordial participants in it. Garnett long maintained that he knew nothing of the conspiracy; then he said he had knowledge of it only under the seal of confession; but he allowed that he held it lawful to equivocate rather than confess anything to his own injury. As a natural consequence his denials were disbelieved, and he was tried, condemned, and executed; Tesmond and Gerrard escaped to the continent.



The conspirators found the foundation wall three yards thick; but when they had worked half through it they were enabled to hire the adjoining cellar, which ran under the parliament-house, and in this they speedily placed twenty barrels of powder, which had been stored in Percy's house, and afterwards ten more, which they covered with billets and fagots, adding, from time to time, more powder, together with iron bars and stones. Meanwhile the meeting of the parliament was postponed, and Catesby, who had hitherto borne the chief part of the expenses, found his funds exhausted; he obtained permission from the rest to divulge their scheme to such as he thought willing to help them, and, in consequence, they were soon joined by John Grant, of Warwickshire, Ambrose Rookwood, of Suffolk, and Francis Tresham, of Northamptonshire, who gave money and their personal service in conveying the gunpowder into the vault, and promised to provide arms and horses for a rising as soon as the plot had taken effect. Some months later the scheme was divulged to Sir Everard Digby, of Gothirst, in Buckinghamshire, and he joined in it, engaging to make an assembly near Dunchurch, in Warwickshire, under pretence of a hunting match, but, in reality, to carry off the princess Elizabeth, who resided at the house of lord Harrington, in that neighbourhood, and whom the conspirators intended to proclaim queen, if Percy should not succeed in seizing the duke of York<sup>i</sup> (afterwards Charles I.) on the day of the explosion.

<sup>i</sup> His elder brother, Henry, it was expected would accompany the king and be destroyed with him.

As the time finally appointed for the meeting of the parliament drew near, Catesby and the rest prepared to leave London, entrusting the task of firing the train to Guy Fawkes, who had assumed the name of Johnson, and professed to be Percy's servant left in charge of his master's house. Their plot had been carried on, as they imagined, with profound secrecy; but there seems little doubt that the secretary (Cecil) had long had a sufficiently accurate idea of their design. Both the French and the Spanish governments had apprized him that some desperate enterprise was in meditation among the Romish refugees in Flanders; a visit which Fawkes had made to them in the preceding summer had not escaped his notice, but he allowed them to remain unmolested until October 26, when an anonymous letter was delivered to Lord Monteagle, (William Parker, brother-in-law of Tresham,) urging him to absent himself from the meeting of parliament, and was by him submitted to the council. The matter was still suffered to stand over for awhile, until the king returned from a hunting excursion, when the letter was laid before him, (Nov. 1,) and he professed to discover the full meaning of its enigmatical warning<sup>j</sup>. At length, early in the morning of November 5, Fawkes was seized in the vault, carried before the council, examined, and committed to the Tower. His associates at once fled to

<sup>j</sup> The passage said to have suggested the idea of gunpowder was, "Though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them." It seems probable that the letter was written by Tresham, who repented of his participation in the plot; he was apprehended soon after its failure, and died in the Tower before he could be brought to trial.

Dunchurch, taking some few friends and their servants with them, to the number of about forty horse. They found there a well-armed party assembled, but all but three of them declined to cast in their fortunes with those of the baffled conspirators. The sheriffs of Warwick and Worcester arrayed the power of their counties, and Catesby and his party retired in haste to Holbeach house, in Worcestershire, the residence of Stephen Lyttelton, (one who had joined them,) where they had resolved to maintain themselves, in the hope of an insurrection of the neighbouring Romanists in their favour. No one stirred however; their powder blew up, desperately wounding Grant, Keys, and Rookwood; and when the sheriff (Sir Richard Walsh) approached, (Nov. 8,) Catesby, Percy, and the two Wrights, purposely exposed themselves to their assailants, and were shot dead. Thomas Winter, Bates, and the wounded men, were made prisoners; Sir Everard Digby cut his way through, but was soon after captured, as were Robert Winter and Stephen Lyttelton, a few days after.

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A.D. 1606. The parliament meets Jan. 21, and sits till May 27.

The king, in his opening speech, declared that he did not impute the guilt of the gunpowder plot to any but the actual perpetrators. His parliament, however, passed acts in consequence, which greatly added to the burden of the penal laws affecting the whole body of Romish recusants. Beside the statutes 3 Jac. I. c. 1, which

appointed an annual thanksgiving on the 5th of November, and c. 2, which attainted "divers offenders in the late most barbarous, monstrous, detestable, and damnable treasons<sup>k</sup>," it passed "an act for the better discovering and repressing of popish recusants," [c. 4.] by which such of them as conformed were required to take the sacrament once a year at least; their absence from church was punishable by heavy fines, and two-thirds of their lands might be taken instead; an oath of allegiance, renouncing the pope's authority in the most offensive terms<sup>l</sup>, was imposed; it was a præmunire to refuse it; to go into the service of any foreign prince without having taken it was felony, and the same penalty attached to persons, professedly Protestant, going abroad and declining or avoiding a bond, in £20 at least, not to be reconciled to the Romish Church; persons harbouring recusants, (except parents or wards,) or keeping servants who did not attend church, were to forfeit £10 per month, and houses might be broken open in search of offenders. Another statute [c. 5] banished all recusants from court, London tradesmen and

<sup>k</sup> It attaints by name not only the eight who had been executed, and the four killed at Holbeach House, but also Tresham, who died before trial, and Hugh Owen, who had not been taken; he was an officer in the archduke's service in Flanders, and had been manifestly in league with the rest, but the archduke refused to give him up.

<sup>l</sup> "And I do further swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes which be excommunicate or deprived by the pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whosoever." This oath gave rise to a schism among the Romanists, some taking the oath, others refusing it; the matter was also a subject of controversy between King James and Cardinal Bellarmine.

*bonâ fide* residents excepted; persons convicted of recusancy were disabled to hold any public office, be executors or guardians, or practise any of the liberal professions; their widows forfeited two-thirds of their dower; marriage, christening, or burial, otherwise than according to the order of the Church of England, was forbidden under heavy penalties, as was sending children abroad for education without license; their service-books, and missals, and relics, were to be destroyed; their arms were to be taken out of their hands, but kept in repair at their expense; and lastly, they were left to the process of the High Commission Court, as persons excommunicate, notwithstanding any penalties that they might suffer from this act.

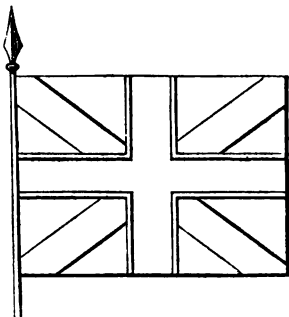
The gunpowder conspirators are tried before a special commission, at the head of which is the earl of Nottingham, (Charles Howard,) Jan. 27. Sir Everard Digby pleads guilty; Bates, Fawkes, Grant, Keys, Rookwood, and the two Winters, plead not guilty, "to the admiration of all the hearers," says Stow; Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates, are executed Jan. 30, in St. Paul's Church-yard; Thomas Winter, Rookwood, Keys, and Fawkes, at Westminster, Jan. 31.

Henry Garnett<sup>m</sup>, the Jesuit, is tried as an accomplice in the gunpowder-plot, and found guilty, March 28; he is executed May 3.

<sup>m</sup> In the indictment against him he is described as "Henry Garnett, late of London, clerk, a Jesuit, otherwise Henry Whalley, otherwise Henry Darcey, otherwise Henry Roberts, otherwise Henry Fermour, otherwise Henry Philips;" the other Jesuits are described as Oswald Tesmond, otherwise Oswald Greneway, otherwise Oswald Fermour; and John Gerrard, otherwise John Brooke.

A national flag for Great Britain announced by royal proclamation <sup>a</sup>, April 12.

Episcopacy restored in Scotland, by act of parliament there; the General Assembly acknowledge the bishops as moderators in their synods, and the king confers on them like powers with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in



National Flag of Great Britain.

England. Severe laws are passed in the Scottish parliament against the Romanists.

The earls of Tyrone (Hugh O'Neal), Tyrconnel (Roderic O'Donnell), and several of their followers, escape from Ireland, and join the Spaniards in the Low Countries<sup>o</sup>.

The parliament meets Nov. 18, and sits until July 4, 1607.

A.D. 1607. The king recommends the union of England and Scotland to the English parliament, but the proposition is received with coldness, and the matter is dropped. One act, however, is passed, [4 Jac. I. c. 1,] by which various acts hostile to Scotland are repealed <sup>p</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> This, as will be seen from the engraving, is a combination of the cross of St. George and the saltire of St. Andrew; the saltire of St. Patrick was added on the union of Great Britain and Ireland, Jan. 1, 1801.

<sup>o</sup> They apprehended that the king had a design to extinguish Romanism in Ireland, and had projected a rising against the government, but were discovered before their plans were ripe; the vast forfeitures of their lands gave occasion to the new plantations in Ulster, a few years later.

<sup>p</sup> They extended from the 7th of Richard II. (1383) to the time of Elizabeth.

Drunkenness made punishable by a fine of 5s., or six hours in the stocks, [c. 5.]

Great numbers of people assemble in Northamptonshire and other midland counties<sup>q</sup>, in May, and throw down inclosures; they are headed by one John Reynolds, who takes the name of Captain Pouch, and are not suppressed without difficulty.

The first permanent settlement of the English in North America; James Town, in Virginia, founded<sup>r</sup>.

A.D. 1608. O'Dogherty, an Irish chieftain in Ulster, rises in arms, kills Paulet, the governor of Derry, and defeats several parties sent against him; he is himself killed in battle in August; when nearly the whole of Ulster is escheated to the crown, and measures are resolved on for its colonization by British settlers.

A.D. 1609. A twelve years' truce concluded between the Spaniards and the Hollanders, by the mediation of the king<sup>s</sup>, March 29.

<sup>q</sup> Large estates belonging to Tresham and others of the gunpowder plot traitors, in these parts, had been granted to the royal favourites, who sought to increase them by seizing adjoining common lands; this robbery provoked the neighbouring gentry, and they declined to act against the insurgents, who were only put down by a regular military force.

<sup>r</sup> This was by virtue of a royal charter to a body of merchants called the London Company; the colony attempted by Raleigh had failed several years before. See p. 299.

<sup>s</sup> This event had some unexpected consequences. Many of the seamen, both English and Dutch, who had heretofore preyed on the Spaniards, retired to the West Indies, where they became well known as the Buccaneers; while some joined the Algerines and the other Barbary states, turned renegades, and induced their new companions to extend their ravages, hitherto confined to the Mediterranean, to the British Channel. An attempt made to chastise them in the year 1620-21 was unsuccessful, and their continued depredations gave occasion to the first levy of ship-money in 1635.

Lithgow, a Scotchman, who visited Barbary in 1615, thus mentions the English renegades:—"Here in Tunis I met with our English captain, general Waird, once a great pirate and commander at sea, who, in spite of his denied acceptance in England, had turned

The charter of the East India company renewed for an unlimited period<sup>a</sup>.

A.D. 1610. The parliament meets Feb. 9, and sits till July 23.

Naturalized persons directed to take the sacrament as well as the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, [7 Jac. I. c. 2.]

A charter granted for the colonization of Newfoundland, May 2.

The king's eldest son is created prince of Wales, May 30; to meet the expense a feudal aid is levied on the people<sup>t</sup>.

Dr. Cowell's book<sup>u</sup> is censured by the commons, and steps taken to bring him to punishment, which is frustrated by the king proroguing and afterwards dissolving the parliament.

Three prelates are consecrated for Scottish sees, at Lambeth, Oct. 21. They were John Spottiswood, Gawin Hamilton, and Andrew Lambe, appointed to Glasgow, Galloway, and Brechin.

The parliament re-assembles October 16, and sits till Dec. 6.

Archbishop Bancroft dies, Nov. 2.

Turk, and built there a fair palace, beautified with rich marble and alabaster stones; with whom I found domestic some fifteen circumcised English runagates, whose lives and countenances were both alike, even as desperate as disdainful. Yet old Waird, the master, was placable, and joined me safely with a passing land conduct to Algiers; yea, and divers times in my ten days' staying there, I dined and supped with him, but lay aboard in the French ship."

<sup>a</sup> It would otherwise have expired Dec. 31, 1615.

<sup>t</sup> See vol. i. p. 178. Its amount was £21,800, which was very unwillingly paid, and the minister Cecil took the opportunity to negotiate with the commons for the redemption of all similar feudal burdens, but could not effect his object.

<sup>u</sup> "The Interpreter." See p. 331.



Wadham College, Oxford, founded.

A.D. 1611. The parliament is dissolved, Feb. 9.

A new translation of the Bible (the present authorized version) completed.

George Abbot<sup>v</sup>, bishop of London, is translated to Canterbury, April.

The British plantation or colonization of Ulster is commenced: the plan laid down<sup>w</sup> is but imperfectly carried out.



Arms of Wadham College.

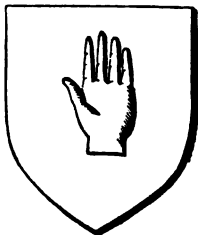
<sup>v</sup> He was born at Guildford in 1562, was educated at the free-school there, and then went to Balliol College, Oxford; he became eminent as a preacher, was made master of University College, and thrice held the office of vice-chancellor. He was one of the translators of the Bible, and, though a doctrinal Calvinist, laboured, under the direction of King James, to re-establish episcopacy in Scotland. His services were rewarded with the sees of Lichfield, London, and Canterbury, bestowed in quick succession, but his primacy especially had an unfortunate effect, as he gave free scope to the puritanical spirit which his immediate predecessors (Whitgift and Bancroft) had kept within bounds, at the same time that he rendered the Church unpopular with many, by pushing the proceedings of the High Commission Court to a degree of severity that they had not before reached, and which was usually ascribed to his morose temper. In 1621 he had the misfortune to kill a man accidentally, and though he survived this event many years, his influence was extinct. Several bishops elect declined to receive ordination at his hands, (Laud was one,) he was formally suspended from office, under the plea of ill-health, but, in reality, from his opposition to the doctrine of absolute power, which some of the clergy began to preach, and at last he died, worn out with infirmities, Aug. 4, 1633, and was buried at his native place. His brother, Robert, became bishop of Salisbury, and died in 1617.

<sup>w</sup> The lands were to be divided into lots of 1,000, 1,500, and 2,000 acres; buildings in proportion were to be erected on each, and none but British settlers admitted. Much of the land, however, was not taken possession of by the "undertakers," as they were styled, but was allowed to remain in the hands of the natives; on the other hand, some parties fraudulently obtained ten times as much land as they paid for, and the towns that they were bound to build were never erected. The citizens of London received a vast allotment, but did not fulfil all the legal conditions, for which they were prosecuted in the Star-chamber in the next reign.

The order of Baronets established<sup>x</sup>; the first patent, to Nicholas Bacon, is dated May 22.

Sir Thomas Sherley, an English adventurer, arrives in England, as ambassador from the shah of Persia; he is very honourably received, and concludes a commercial treaty.

The king's cousin, Arabella Stuart, is committed to the Tower for contracting marriage without the royal license<sup>y</sup>, June 5.



The Baronets' Badge.

The English merchants are allowed to establish a factory at Surat; they are attacked by the Portuguese, but beat them off. In the following year they extend their trade to Java and Sumatra.

A.D. 1612. Bartholomew Legate, an Arian, is burnt in Smithfield, March 18; as is another heretic, Edmund Wightman, at Lichfield, April 11.

The minister Cecil dies, May 24; he is succeeded in power by Robert Carr, viscount Rochester.

Prince Henry dies, Nov. 6; he is buried at Westminster, Dec. 7.

<sup>x</sup> Its avowed intention was to provide a fund for the defence of the English settlement in Ulster, each knight or esquire who received it engaging to support thirty foot-soldiers for two years; but this, as well as the original limitation of number to two hundred, was soon abandoned. Baronets of Ireland were established in 1619, and baronets of Nova Scotia in 1625.

<sup>y</sup> She married William Seymour, the grandson of Edward, earl of Hertford, whose unhappy marriage with lady Katherine Grey has been already noticed, (see p. 262.) Arabella died in confinement; Seymour escaped to the continent, and returning after many years of exile, took part in the civil war, and eventually became duke of Somerset.

A.D. 1613. The princess Elizabeth is married to the Elector Palatine<sup>z</sup>, Feb. 14.

A.D. 1614. The parliament meets April 5, and is dissolved June 7, without passing a single act<sup>a</sup>.

Both houses of parliament take the sacrament for the discovery of concealed Romanists, but none refuse, April 7.

A large sum of money is raised by a benevolence<sup>b</sup>.

A.D. 1615. Sir Thomas Roe sent on an embassy to the Great Mogul, Jan.

The lady Arabella Stuart dies in the Tower<sup>c</sup>, Sept. 27

A.D. 1616. Sir Walter Raleigh is released from the Tower, March 20<sup>d</sup>.

The earl and countess of Somerset are tried before

<sup>a</sup> A feudal aid was levied on this occasion also, which was conformable to the practice of earlier kings, but this could not reconcile the people to it; it produced but £20,500, while the expenses were above £50,000, exclusive of the marriage portion, which was £40,000 more.

<sup>b</sup> It was in consequence nicknamed the "addled parliament." They complained of interference by the court in elections, declined to grant any supplies until various grievances were redressed, questioned the king's right to levy arbitrary impositions and grant monopolies, and clamoured loudly against Williams, bishop of Lincoln, who was said to have justified the exactions, and to have charged the commons with disloyalty. They were dismissed in anger by the king, and several of their members imprisoned.

<sup>c</sup> A gentleman (Oliver St. John) was fined £5,000 in the Star-chamber for condemning such a mode of raising money as contrary to law, reason, and religion. Coke, the chief justice, expressed the same opinion, and this was one cause of his subsequent disgrace.

<sup>d</sup> She had lost her reason through the severity of her confinement, and her unhappy fate is a deep blemish on the memory of James.

<sup>e</sup> He sailed in March, 1617, on an expedition to Guiana, which miscarried, and soon after his return he was, on the complaint of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, whose brother had been killed in resisting the adventurers, committed to the Tower.

their peers, and convicted of procuring the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, May 24, 25<sup>e</sup>.

Brill and the other cautionary towns are delivered up to the Hollanders<sup>f</sup>, May 27.

Coke, the chief justice, is deprived of his office, Nov.<sup>g</sup>

A.D. 1617. Sir Francis Bacon is made lord keeper<sup>h</sup>, March 7.

The king visits Scotland, and re-establishes the bishops there in their former rightful supremacy.

The archbishop of Spalatro, (Mark Antony de Dominis, a Jesuit,) conforms to the English Church<sup>i</sup>.

A.D. 1618. The king publishes a proclamation, allowing of various sports on Sundays after the hours of divine service<sup>j</sup>, May 24.

The Articles of Perth are agreed to by the General Assembly<sup>k</sup>, Aug. 25.

\* Overbury was a courtier of bad character, who attached himself to the rising fortunes of the favourite, but offended him by endeavouring to dissuade him from marrying the divorced countess of Essex. To get rid of him, he was ordered to proceed on a foreign embassy, was committed to the Tower for refusing, and died there after a six months' rigorous confinement, Sept. 15, 1613. Weston, a warder of the Tower, and other agents, were executed for poisoning him, but the earl and countess escaped condign punishment.

<sup>f</sup> They paid a considerable sum in ready money to the king, but it was less than one-third of what had been lent them by Elizabeth.

<sup>g</sup> He had been remarkable for his servility to the court; on his disgrace, which he mainly owed to his overbearing conduct on the bench, he joined the popular party, and became a vehement denouncer of the prerogative.

<sup>h</sup> He was made lord chancellor the next year.

<sup>i</sup> He was made dean of Windsor, May 13, 1618, but returned to the Roman communion in 1622; he died in Italy in the following year, when his body was burnt by the Inquisition.

<sup>j</sup> This was commonly known as the "Book of Sports;" it was very offensive to the Puritans, and Archbishop Abbot would not allow it to be read in churches, as directed; James suffered the matter to drop, but his successor revived it.

<sup>k</sup> They had been proposed when the king was in Scotland, and rejected, and were now, as the Presbyterians alleged, carried by

The Protestants in Bohemia offer the crown to the Elector Palatine, (the son-in-law of the king). His cause is warmly espoused by the English, but the king declines to assist him.

Sir Walter Raleigh is beheaded, on his former sentence, Oct. 29<sup>l</sup>.

The synod of Dort held, in which English divines are present<sup>m</sup>.

A.D. 1619. The trade of the English and the Dutch in the East India Islands regulated by treaty<sup>n</sup>, July 7.

A.D. 1620. The parliament meets Jan. 30.

Many preachers in Scotland inveigh against episcopal government; they are deprived of their cures, but soon restored.

The king orders Romish recusants to be released from prison<sup>o</sup>.

corrupt influences. The articles were five in number; they ordered the Lord's supper to be received kneeling; allowed of private baptism, the communion of the sick, and confirmation; and directed Christmas and the other holy seasons to be observed as in England.

<sup>l</sup> See p. 337. This, after so many years' respite, was unquestionably cruel, and his death was very displeasing to the people in general, as he was considered as sacrificed to forward the alliance with Spain; they preferred war with that power, as ultimately came to pass.

<sup>m</sup> The extreme Calvinistic doctrines prevailed here, and the Arminians were condemned without a hearing. The English divines were Carleton, bishop of Llandaff; Davenant and Hall, afterwards bishops of Salisbury and Exeter; Ward, master of Sydney-Sussex College, Cambridge; and Bancanqual, a Scottish episcopalian.

<sup>n</sup> The conditions of this treaty were badly observed on both sides. In February, 1623, the Dutch tortured to death several of the English factors in Amboyna, under pretence of their having intrigued with the natives; reparation for this barbarous act was not obtained until the time of the Commonwealth.

<sup>o</sup> The reason assigned was, that Protestants might thereby receive better treatment in foreign countries, but in England the measure was looked on only as intended to conciliate the Spaniards, with whom the king was anxious to form an alliance.

A fleet is sent against the Barbary pirates<sup>p</sup>, in October, but effects nothing of consequence.

Great numbers of volunteers quit England to support the Elector Palatine. He is, however, defeated by the Austrians at Prague, Nov. 7, and loses his hereditary dominions.

The king issues a proclamation (Dec. 23) prohibiting talking of state affairs.

The Puritans make a settlement in North America, styling the district New England.

A.D. 1621. The parliament meets Jan. 30, and sits till June 4.

The commons proceed with severity against numerous offenders. One member (Shepherd) is expelled for reflecting on the Puritans; Floyd, a Romish barrister, and a prisoner in the Fleet, is condemned to heavy punishment for indecorous language regarding the Elector Palatine and his wife<sup>q</sup>; Lord Chancellor Bacon is impeached, and several monopolists and patentees prosecuted<sup>r</sup>.

The great seal is bestowed on John Williams, dean of Salisbury and Westminster<sup>s</sup>, July 10.

<sup>p</sup> An attack was made on Algiers in May, 1621, and two or three vessels burnt, but the rovers (among whom were many renegades—see p. 349) captured above thirty English ships in the same year, and they first received effectual chastisement from Blake, more than thirty years after.

<sup>q</sup> He had rejoiced over the ill-success of “goodman Palgrave and goody Palgrave.” The king, however, refused to allow the house to punish him, angrily enquiring, “Are they a court of judicature?” and had him prosecuted in the Star-chamber.

<sup>r</sup> Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Mitchell, two flagrant offenders, who had obtained, and abused, exclusive powers for licensing alehouses and inspecting inns, and manufacturing gold and silver thread, were degraded from knighthood, fined, imprisoned, and eventually banished.

<sup>s</sup> He was born in 1582 at Aberconway, and was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. Whilst proctor of the University he at-

The earl of Northumberland is released from the Tower, July 18.

The archbishop of Canterbury (George Abbot) accidentally kills a gamekeeper, in Lord Zouch's park, at Bramzill, July 24<sup>t</sup>.

The parliament re-assembles Nov. 20, and sits till Dec. 19.

They grant no supplies, but instead, draw up a petition to the king, praying that the laws against the Romanists may be enforced, that he will make war upon Spain in support of the Elector Palatine, and marry his son Charles to a Protestant princess<sup>u</sup>.

The king censures their petition as the work of "fiery, popular, and turbulent spirits;" they reply by a protestation, in which they claim the right of discussing all subjects "in such order as they think proper," and maintain that their members are responsible to the House only for their conduct. The king sends for the journal,

tracted the attention of George, duke of Wurtemberg, and was by him recommended to the king. He shewed a great aptitude for secular business, became a favourite of King James, and in consequence received from him the great seal. From this office he was driven in 1625 by the enmity of Buckingham, to whom he was not sufficiently subservient, opposed himself to the proceedings of Archbishop Laud, was, on light grounds, very harshly treated, and suffered a long imprisonment in the Tower. He was released by the Long Parliament, and, in Dec. 1641, was translated to York, but in the same month was again imprisoned on account of the bishops' protestation, which he had drawn up. When the civil war commenced he withdrew to Aberconway Castle, which he fortified, and held for a time for the king, but he ultimately made his peace with the parliament, and, dying at Glothaeth, in Caernarvonshire, March 25, 1650, he was buried at Llandegay, near Bangor.

<sup>u</sup> He obtained the king's pardon, Nov. 22, but many candidates for the ministry refused to receive ordination from "hands polluted by blood," and he was virtually suspended from his function.

<sup>a</sup> A treaty had been already concluded (April 27, 1620) for his marriage with the Infanta Maria of Spain; and a toleration of Romanism was one of its provisions.

tears out the protest with his own hand, and adjourns the Houses, Dec. 19.

A.D. 1622. The parliament is dissolved, Feb. 8.

Sir Edward Coke and Mr. Pym are imprisoned, and Sir Dudley Digges, and other obnoxious members of the late parliament, forced to repair to Ireland against their will, under pretence of the king's service<sup>x</sup>.

A Romish university founded in Dublin<sup>y</sup>.

A.D. 1623. The treaty for the Spanish marriage is all but concluded by the earl of Bristol (John Digby), when Prince Charles and Buckingham arrive in Madrid<sup>z</sup>, March 7. The negotiations are opened afresh, but at length a public and a private treaty<sup>a</sup> are agreed to, which King James swears to observe, July 20.

The prince and Buckingham return to England, arriving Oct. 5.

The marriage treaty is broken off, and the earl of Bristol recalled to England<sup>b</sup>, December.

A.D. 1624. The parliament meets Feb. 19, and sits

<sup>x</sup> They were commissioned to inquire, among other things, into abuses said to have been committed in the recent plantation of Ulster.

<sup>y</sup> It was allowed to exist for about ten years, but was then closed by the lord-deputy, and the building granted to Trinity College, Dublin.

<sup>z</sup> They left England in disguise, Feb. 18, and travelled with but three attendants, taking the names of James and Thomas Smith; the journey is thought to have been suggested by Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador.

<sup>a</sup> The public treaty only conceded freedom of worship to the Infanta and her household; the private treaty engaged the king to procure, if possible, the repeal of the penal statutes, and if not, to suspend their execution.

<sup>b</sup> The rupture of the treaty was generally ascribed to Buckingham, and he in consequence became popular for a while; but the earl of Bristol eventually exposed the course of his proceedings in Spain, and made it evident that he had consulted his own pride and anger, rather than the honour of his master.



till May 29. The king endeavours to prevent the earl of Bristol appearing in his place, but on the remonstrance of the Peers he gives way. The earl then charges Buckingham with causing the rupture with Spain. Buckingham explains his conduct to the expressed satisfaction of the parliament.

Monopolies declared contrary to law, and all such grants void ° [21 Jac. I. c. 3.]

War is declared against Spain, March 10.

The earl of Middlesex (Lionel Cranfeild), lord treasurer, is impeached by the Commons, at the instigation of Buckingham, April. He is convicted of bribery and neglect of duty by the Peers, May 13, is fined £50,000, and declared incapable of sitting in parliament<sup>d</sup>.

The lord keeper (John Williams, bishop of Lincoln) is also complained of by Buckingham, but the Commons decline to impeach him.

A complaint of false doctrine is made to the Commons against Dr. Richard Montague, one of the king's chaplains<sup>e</sup>.

° Patents of invention, giving a monopoly for not more than 14 years, were excepted.

<sup>d</sup> He was sent to the Tower the next day, and formally deprived of office May 16. Cranfeild was originally a merchant of London, and had been brought forward by Buckingham, but had offended him by hesitating to sanction his lavish expenditure in the Spanish journey. He defended himself with spirit on his trial, and is believed to have been unjustly condemned. His fine was reduced to £20,000; he was soon released from prison, and lived in retirement until his death, which occurred in the year 1645.

• In a tract against the Romanists, entitled, "A Gag for the New Gospel," he had denied that the Calvinistic tenets were agreeable to the faith of the Church of England. This gave great offence to the Puritan party; he was summoned before the House, and condemned to silence by the archbishop of Canterbury (Abbot), to whom they remitted the cause. He, however, appealed to the king, and he was saved from any present consequences by the dissolution of the parliament, which soon occurred, but his prosecution was revived in the

Count Mansfeldt is allowed to raise 12,000 men in England for the service of the Elector Palatine. They are hastily embarked in crowded ships, and lose nearly half their number from sickness<sup>f</sup>.

A marriage treaty for the prince of Wales is concluded with France, Nov. 12.

Pembroke College, Oxford, founded.



Arms of Pembroke College.

A.D. 1625. The king dies of an ague at Theobalds, March 27, and is buried at Westminster.

next reign, his "Appello Cæsarem" being in its very nature grievous to the parliament, which already aimed at supremacy.

Montagu was born in 1578, and was educated at Cambridge. In spite of the anger of the parliament, he was in 1628 made bishop of Chichester (one William Jones, a London tradesman, publicly objecting to the election, but without effect), and in 1638 was translated to Norwich. He died April 13, 1641.

This calamitous event made a great impression on the king, who bitterly lamented having yielded to the persuasion of evil counsellors, and plunged into a war in his old age.



Charles I., from his Great Seal.



Arms of Charles I.

## CHARLES I.

CHARLES, the second son of James VI. of Scotland and Anne of Denmark, was born at Dumfermline, Nov. 19, 1600, was brought to England shortly after his father's accession to the throne, and was, while yet very young, created duke of York and knight of the Garter; on the death of his brother Henry, in 1612, he became prince of Wales. In 1623 he engaged in a journey to Spain, in company with the marquis of Buckingham, in order to conclude a marriage that had long been pending with the Infanta Maria, the daughter of Philip IV., but the project failed, and shortly after his return he succeeded to the throne by the death of his father, March 27, 1625; he was crowned Feb. 2, 1626.

The first great unhappiness of Charles's reign was the evil influence of his favourite Buckingham. The young king had imbibed principles of arbitrary power, which

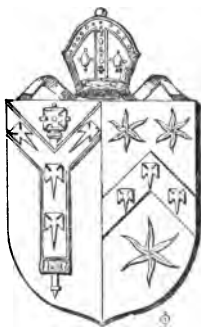
made him regard parliaments only as instruments of taxation, and hence his indignation was extreme when his first parliament brought charges of the gravest nature against the favourite, and declined to vote taxes, although the nation was at war with Spain, until these and other matters of grievance were redressed. By Buckingham's advice they were speedily dismissed, as was a second parliament, which pursued a like course, and the fatal step was taken of attempting to govern without one. Clergymen were found to enlarge on the doctrine of passive obedience, and to declare in express terms that the king had an absolute right to such part of his subjects' property as he chose to take<sup>a</sup>; judges perverted the law in the same spirit; tunnage and poundage were exacted, although they had only been granted for the late king's life; forced loans were raised, those who refused to pay being imprisoned, or made to serve as soldiers or sailors; martial law also was proclaimed, as if for the purpose of intimidation, and a project entertained of hiring a body of German horse. In the midst of these difficulties a war was entered on with France, which was generally ascribed to some personal resentments of Buckingham, and in which he discharged the

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Sibthorp preached a sermon of this nature, ("Apostolical Obedience,") at Northampton, Feb. 22, 1627, from Rom. xiii. 7, "Render therefore to all their dues;" and Dr. Roger Manwaring, preaching before the king at Whitehall, maintained that "those who refused to pay the loan offended against the law of God, and the king's supreme authority, and became guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion;" he also affirmed that the authority of parliament was not necessary for the raising of aids and subsidies, and that the slow proceedings of such assemblies were prejudicial to the just designs of princes. His sermons were published under the title, "Religion and Allegiance;" but they occasioned so much discontent that the king was obliged to suppress them by proclamation.

office of general in a way calculated to expose the nation to contempt.

The expenses of the war obliged the king to call a third parliament in 1628; their temper was in no manner changed, and, after a sharp struggle, they extorted the famous Petition of Right, in which the exactions and violences of former years were distinctly condemned; but the royal assent was given with such evident marks of reluctance, that a doubt of the king's sincerity was reasonably entertained. Shortly after Buckingham was assassinated by a man who gave as his reason the complaints of the parliament against him. Charles was thus more prejudiced than ever against parliaments, and he found two fitting instruments to his design of absolute monarchy in Bishop Laud<sup>b</sup> and Sir Thomas Went-

<sup>b</sup> William Laud, the son of a Berkshire clothier, was born at Reading, Oct. 7, 1573, and was educated at the free-school of that town. He afterwards went to St. John's College, Oxford, and even when a student ventured to question the views of the Puritans, which drew upon him the censure of the vice-chancellor, Abbot, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. He at length became chaplain to Bishop Neile, of Rochester, and was by him introduced to the court of James I. Laud accompanied the king into Scotland in 1617, was active in promoting his views as to the restoration of episcopacy there, and was himself raised to the see of St. David's in 1621. In 1626 he was translated to Bath and Wells, and two years later to London, when he became virtually primate, though he did not receive the title till 1633, his ancient opponent Abbot having fallen into disgrace. Laud had ever had the cause of the Church at heart, and he set himself to work, with more zeal and good intentions than success, to remedy various evils which had sprung up, particularly the systematic disregard of holy places and seasons in which the Puritans indulged, which had reduced many



Arms of Archbishop Laud.

worth<sup>c</sup>, who had succeeded to much of Buckingham's influence, and who soon earned even greater unpopularity.

churches to a condition of ruin, and had in too many places banished all decent order from the public service. About the same time, on the death of the duke of Buckingham, Laud was called to the king's council, and he had thenceforth a much larger share in the direction of public affairs than was suitable to his function. According to his own statement, this was against his will, yet he entered zealously on his new duties, and bore the odium of devising, and assisted to execute, many unwarrantable schemes for the improvement of the revenue. He no doubt sincerely believed in the divine right of kings, and all its consequences of absolute lordship over the person and property of the subject; and finding these questioned, an unhappy infirmity of temper induced him to concur in any means, however arbitrary or cruel, which seemed likely to crush opposition, and render his master independent of parliaments. These expedients were successful for a while, but at length they utterly failed, and the king was compelled to call his last parliament, which met Nov. 3, 1640. Early in the following year the archbishop was impeached of treason by the Commons, and sent to the Tower, where he remained, exposed to many hardships, until his death. In March, 1643, charges were exhibited against him, accusing him of designs of overthrowing parliaments, and bringing about union with Rome. Prynne, a barrister, who was his personal enemy, had with malignant industry collected all the evidence of these designs that was procurable, seizing his private papers, and even his Prayer-book, and tampering with them to suit the views of his party; but after all the proofs were so weak, though repeatedly brought forward, that the House of Peers were disinclined to convict him. The Commons, however, were resolved on his destruction, and at last, in November, 1644, with a degree of illegality and cruelty exceeding anything with which they charged him, he was attainted by an ordinance, and, in contempt of a pardon which the king had granted him, was beheaded Jan. 10, 1645, his last words being a solemn denial of the charge of affection for Rome. His body was buried in the church of Allhallows Barking, near the Tower, but in 1663 was removed to his college at Oxford. He had been for several years chancellor of that University, to which he gave many valuable MSS., where he also founded the Greek press, and where many other proofs of his munificent patronage of learning yet remain.

• He belonged to a wealthy Yorkshire family, but was born in London in 1593. After an education at Cambridge, and foreign travel, he was knighted by James I., and sat in several parliaments for Yorkshire. He made himself conspicuous by his opposition to the measures of the court, was on one occasion chosen sheriff to prevent his having a seat in the House of Commons, and at another was imprisoned for refusing to contribute to a forced loan. Ambition, however, was his ruling passion, and he was induced to forsake his party by the offer of a peerage. In 1628 he was created

The parliament was dissolved early in 1629, and the king announced his intention of governing without one, a resolution which he kept, unhappily for himself and for his subjects, for more than eleven years. The most odious and vexatious modes of raising a revenue were resorted to<sup>d</sup>; the courts of Starchamber and High Com-

a baron (Wentworth), afterwards a viscount, and soon made lord president of the Council of the North. This had been an arbitrary government from the first; his instructions went beyond those of all former presidents, and, according to Clarendon, were opposed to every principle of law, yet they did not appear to give him power enough, and in 1633 he was removed, by his own wish, to Ireland, where he established a despotism, and also raised an army which was generally supposed to be intended to crush that resistance which it was expected would sooner or later be made to the king's illegal measures in England. When the Scottish troubles commenced, Wentworth dealt with a high hand with such of that nation as had settled in Ulster, and was afterwards summoned to England to take the field against them. He was now created earl of Strafford, but was unpopular with his own army, and unable to effect anything. The Scots manifested extreme hatred against him; they were eagerly seconded by Pym and others, whom he had forsaken so many years before, and he wished to remain at a distance from the parliament; but the king insisted on his attendance, and gave a promise of protection which he was unable to keep. Strafford had hardly taken his seat in the House of Lords, when he was impeached as "that great firebrand," (Nov. 18, 1640,) sent to the Tower; and in the April of the next year convicted of treason, not according to the course of law, but by an attainder to which the peers were forced to agree by popular violence. The king was with great difficulty brought to consent to his execution through the sophistry of Williams, bishop of Lincoln, who drew an odious distinction between his private conscience as a man and his public conscience as a king. Strafford had himself offered his life as a means of peace between the king and his subjects, but apparently did not expect to be taken at his word, as when told that the warrant was signed he exclaimed, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation!" but soon calmed himself. He was beheaded on Tower-hill, May 12, 1641, and he died, as a cotemporary, who had conducted the process against him (Whitelock) says, "with charity, courage, and general lamentation." He left a son, William, who was restored to his title by Charles II., and lived till 1695, but took no part in public affairs.

<sup>d</sup> In defiance of the act of the last reign (see p. 359), there were created, "monopolies of soap, salt, wine, leather, sea-coal, and, in

mission acted with extreme tyranny, and the common law courts affirmed the legality of notoriously unlawful demands. At length, having, as they rashly conceived, crushed all opposition in England, Charles and his counsellors attempted to complete the restoration of episcopacy in Scotland commenced by James I.; this was resisted by force of arms, and the illegal means that had been so long practised being inadequate to maintain an army, the king was obliged, in 1639, to meet the representatives of his justly offended people. Unwarned by experience, however, the ill-advised king<sup>e</sup> speedily dissolved his fourth parliament, as he had its predecessors, before any funds had been granted. Urgent want of means, however, compelled him very soon to assemble another, the memorable Long Parliament, which met Nov. 3, 1640, and, mindful of the fate of former assemblies, procured an act [16 Car. I. c. 10], which deprived the king of power to prorogue or dissolve them without their own consent. They had before this seized on Archbishop Laud and the earl of Strafford; they displaced and otherwise punished the judges and others who had in any way acted illegally; obtained the suppression of the three obnoxious courts of Starchamber, High Com-

a manner, of all things of most common and necessary use." "Supplemental acts of state were made to supply defect of laws . . . obsolete laws were revived and rigorously executed, wherein the subject might be taught how unthrifty a thing it was, by too strict a detaining of what was his, to put the king as strictly to inquire what was his own." Such is the only palliation which even Clarendon can offer for the system pursued; how that system was viewed by the nation in general is but too manifest in the unhappy result.

\* Clarendon remarks that the great misfortune of Archbishop Laud was the want of a true friend; the same remark applies with still greater force to his royal master.



mission, and the Earl Marshal, and expelled the bishops from parliament, neither king nor lords venturing openly to resist them, though the former listened to proposals for employing force against them; but his measures were foiled by the activity and address of the popular leaders. He next attempted to seize on Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Hampden, and others, but failed, and then thought it advisable to quit London. At length the parliament demanded that the power of raising the militia should be placed in their hands, but as this would have rendered them absolute, the king refused his consent; and then, most fatally for himself and his people, appealed to the sword, setting up his royal standard at Nottingham, Aug. 25, 1642.

In the lamentable civil war that followed, the parliament had great advantages, both in men and money. The king was supported by the Church, by the Universities, and by the great body of the nobility and gentry, and their tenants in the rural districts; while the adherents of the parliament were the Puritans of every grade, including many gentlemen of moderate estates, and many small freeholders, and the chief part of the population of larger towns; money was readily obtained "on the public faith," and their levies, in which the London apprentices formed a conspicuous part, were, by the able management of Skippon<sup>f</sup> and other soldiers of

<sup>f</sup> Philip Skippon had raised himself from the ranks in the wars of the Low Countries. He commanded the armed force which re-instated the five members (justly described by Lord Clarendon as the first scene of the civil war), enjoyed the confidence of the Londoners, and served throughout the struggle with courage and success. He was made one of Cromwell's peers and died shortly before the Restoration.

fortune, soon rendered more than a match for the disorderly valour of the cavaliers.

Through the whole course of the contest, the parliamentary leaders acted with far more promptitude and decision than the king and his advisers. He had no sooner withdrawn from London than they openly assumed all the powers of government, the details of which were carried out by numerous Committees, which usually met in the city<sup>s</sup>. Each House by its votes regulated a variety of matters independently of the other, but the more important affairs were settled by Ordinances, which began, "The Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, taking into their consideration . . . do hereby ordain."

By such instruments the new rulers seized on the power of the sword (Feb. and Mar. 1642<sup>b</sup>), levied heavy weekly assessments for the support of their army and the relief of the wounded, the widows and orphans (March 4, 6, 1643), and a rate for fortifying the city of London<sup>i</sup> (March 7, 1643); imposed an excise (July, Sept. 1643), and established courts-martial (Aug. 17, 1644). They confiscated the estates of "all persons ecclesiastical or temporal" who appeared in arms against them, or voluntarily contributed to the king's service (Mar. 31, 1643), treated those who attempted to stand neuter as enemies (May 7, 1643), forbade quarter being given to

<sup>s</sup> See Notes and Illustrations.

<sup>b</sup> These are the earliest dates relating to each step of their usurpation, but many other ordinances, which it is unnecessary to particularize, were subsequently passed to give effect to their designs.

<sup>i</sup> The rate was 2d. in the pound on large rents, and 6d. each on small houses. Similar ordinances were afterwards made for Exeter, Yarmouth, the Isle of Wight, and other places.

Irishmen taken in England (Oct. 24, 1644), and when the war was closed, ordered all "papists, officers, and soldiers of fortune, and other delinquents," to remove from London, under the pains of treason (May 6, 1646; July 9, 1647; June 16, 1648).

Their government, which spread every year more widely over the country, retained, and even aggravated, all the worst features of that which they had cast off. In direct violation of the Bill of Right<sup>k</sup>, they made numberless forced levies of horses and arms (May 23, 1643, &c.); gave powers to their generals to press men into their service (June 10, 1645); passed a most tyrannical ordinance to "repress disorders in printing<sup>l</sup>;" and after imprisoning by mere arbitrary votes any who ventured to present addresses that were distasteful, they passed a rigid law (May 20, 1648) against "tumultuous petitioning," the very means by which their own power had been first established.

To keep alive the interest in their cause they imposed a contribution of a meal a-week towards the support of their troops, and ordained a monthly fast<sup>m</sup> (March 26, 1644), beside numerous occasional ones; they also prohibited public amusements (Oct. 22, 1647), but were obliged, by the clamour of the London apprentices, to

<sup>k</sup> See p. 381.

<sup>l</sup> Parties were empowered to break open doors and locks, by day or by night, in order to discover unlicensed printing presses, and to apprehend authors, printers, binders, and others; this ordinance was not more effectual than the Starchamber decree of 1637 (see p. 395), and books, pamphlets, and newspapers were published daily, which condemned their tyrannical rule in language as little measured as their own.

<sup>m</sup> This was apparently distasteful to some of their own party, as Whitelock remarks, under date March 31, 1647, "Very long prayers and sermons this monthly fast-day, as usual."

allow the second Tuesday in each month as a day of recreation, instead of the customary festivals and holydays, which had been suppressed as superstitious and vain (June 8, 1647).

The parliament had, long before the king's departure, shewn their irreconcilable hostility to the Church and its ministers<sup>a</sup>, and had done all in their power to banish all decency and order from the public service of God. They now appointed an Assembly of Divines (June 12, 1643), ordered a systematic defacement of churches under the pretext of "removing monuments of superstition or idolatry" (Aug. 28, 1643), "regulated" the University of Cambridge<sup>o</sup>, and removed "scandalous ministers" (Jan. 22, 1644); in forgetfulness of their professed regard for "tender consciences," they imposed the Covenant<sup>p</sup> on all classes, beginning with the judges and lawyers, and disabling all refusers to practise any liberal profession, or hold any public employment (Jan. 30, Feb. 2, 1644<sup>q</sup>); substituted the Directory for the Prayer-book (Jan. 3, Aug. 23, 1645); they forbade any preaching, except by persons allowed by both Houses (April 26, 1645); set up the presbyterian form of Church government (June 5, 1646); formally abolished episcopacy (Oct. 9, 1646), and sold the bishops' lands (Nov. 16, 30, 1646), paying their most active instruments with

<sup>a</sup> See Notes and Illustrations.

<sup>o</sup> Oxford was then in the king's hands; when it came into theirs it was treated with the extremity of rigour by a committee of Visitors, appointed by ordinance May 1, 1647. See Notes and Illustrations.

<sup>p</sup> See pp. 400, 433.

<sup>q</sup> They had imposed the Covenant in London before this (Aug. 17, 1643), as a kind of invitation to the Scots, and on Dec. 20 of the same year they disabled all dissentients.

the proceeds<sup>r</sup>, and thus making the plunder of the Church directly contributory to the ruin of the State,—a lesson which should not be forgotten.

To the firm and orderly, though illegal government of these men, the king could only oppose divided, and in some cases certainly dishonest counsels. His courtiers, his generals, even his sons and nephews, made parties for themselves, and thwarted the most prudent measures by their mutual jealousies; and the various classes of his supporters were actuated by very different motives<sup>s</sup>. Though many of the House of Peers and some of the House of Commons repaired to him, he was unable to keep long on foot the semblance of a parliament<sup>t</sup>; his own solemn declarations prevented his attempting to levy taxes without, and he was obliged to depend on the voluntary gifts of his adherents; they, however, answered to his call, and fought at their own cost, while the Universities contributed their plate<sup>u</sup>, and the crown jewels were sold.

The first battle in the civil war (at Edgehill, Oct. 23,

<sup>r</sup> Sir Arthur Hasilrigge thus received so much of the Church property in the north, that he was familiarly known as the Bishop of Durham.

<sup>s</sup> Some (as Sir Edward Varney, his standard-bearer, killed at Edgehill) supported him from a feeling of loyal duty, though not approving of his measures. Others (as many Romanists) joined him for protection from the violence of the parliament. A third party adhered to him but feebly, fearing that a decided overthrow of their adversaries would bring back all the oppressions of former years.

<sup>t</sup> His parliament at Oxford held two sessions, and imposed taxes which in general could only be gathered as military contributions.

<sup>u</sup> The plate of the colleges at Oxford (amounting to at least £6,000), was granted by vote of convocation, Jan. 31, 1643, and £2,000 worth more was contributed by individual members of the university. Much of the plate of Cambridge was intercepted by the parliamentarians.

1642) was indecisive, but the king soon after gained signal advantages, and it seemed likely that he would surmount his difficulties, as he repeatedly promised a legal course of government for the future, and many of those who fought against him had no intention of carrying matters to extremity. But they had raised a storm that they could not direct. The extreme party ("the root and branch men") called in the Scots, Cromwell, and other men of blood, thrust themselves to the head of affairs, remodelled the army, totally defeated the royal forces, broke the power of the parliament, and got the king into their own hands.

Various attempts had before been made at treaties between the king and the parliament<sup>x</sup>; the latter now renewed them, and, to gain the king's support against their revolted instruments, they were ready to accept terms which they had before declined; the Scots, and the chiefs of the army, professed to negotiate with him, and he was led to believe that he could act as umpire; it may, however, reasonably be doubted whether either party was sincere, and it is certain that the king became the victim. After a time the negotiations were broken off, and the king fled to the Isle of Wight. Here they were resumed, and promised peace, when the military, confident in their strength, and unhappily not repugnant to any act of violence or cruelty, reduced the parliament to a mere assembly of their own creatures, terrified the peers from interfering, and then brought their king before a new-created tribunal, called a High Court of Justice, condemned, and executed him; he being be-

<sup>x</sup> As at Oxford, in 1643, and at Uxbridge, in 1645.

headed in front of his own palace at Whitehall, on Tuesday, Jan. 30<sup>y</sup>, 1649. His body was carried to Windsor, and there buried in St. George's chapel, Feb. 8<sup>z</sup>.

Very shortly after his accession, Charles married the princess Henrietta Maria of France, a woman of beauty and spirit, but unfortunately the cause of many of the troubles of his reign. The marriage treaty had stipulated for such lenity towards the English Romanists as greatly offended the Puritans; the queen's gay disposition also was distasteful to them; some of her husband's most unwise steps were supposed to be taken in deference to her; and she became so unpopular that an impeachment was prepared against her by the Commons, and she judged it prudent to leave the country. She greatly exerted herself to raise supplies abroad for her husband, and revisited England whilst the war raged, but in 1644 withdrew to France, where she remained in neglect and poverty until the restoration of Charles II. This event she survived several years, dying at Colombe, near Paris, Aug. 10, 1669.

<sup>y</sup> On the restoration an act was passed [12 Car. II. c. 30.] for the solemn observance of this, as the day of his "martyrdom;" a service was accordingly drawn up, and is still in use, in which it is to be lamented there are many expressions that have given just offence to religious persons, who yet heartily abhor the deed of blood.

<sup>z</sup> The duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, and the earls of Southampton and Lindsay, obtained leave from "those who governed" to attend the funeral of their master. They brought with them Bishop Juxon, who had attended the king on the scaffold, but he was not permitted to read the burial service, as he had intended. The king's body was laid in the grave, says Clarendon, "without any words or other ceremonies than the tears and sighs of the few beholders." Upon the coffin was a plate of silver fixed, with these words only, "KING CHARLES, 1648." When the coffin was placed in the grave, the black velvet pall that had covered it was thrown over it, and the earth thrown in, which the governor stayed to see perfectly done, and then took the keys of the church, which had long ceased to be used for divine service.

Their issue were—

CHARLES and JAMES, who became kings.

Henry, born July 8, 1640. With his sister Elizabeth he fell into the hands of the parliament, but was allowed to leave England in 1652, when he repaired to his brother Charles, by whom he was created duke of Gloucester; he returned at the Restoration, but died soon after, Sept. 13, 1660.

Mary, born Nov. 4, 1631, was, when but ten years old, married to Prince William of Nassau; their only child was William, prince of Orange (afterwards William III.); the princess visited England at the Restoration, and, like her brother Henry, died in the same year (Dec. 24, 1660).

Elizabeth, born Dec. 28, 1635, died in confinement at Carisbrooke Castle, Sept. 8, 1650; she was buried at Newport, in the new church of which a tablet has recently been erected to her memory by her present Majesty.

Henrietta Maria, born June 16, 1644, at Exeter, was very shortly after carried abroad by her mother, and was educated as a Romanist. She married Philip, duke of Anjou (brother of Louis XIV.), managed political intrigues between the courts of England and France, and died very suddenly, not without suspicion of poison, shortly after her return from a journey on such business, June 30, 1670.

Anne, born in 1637, died young.

Charles I. had the same arms and supporters<sup>a</sup> as his

<sup>a</sup> Except in the instance of the Exchequer seal already mentioned. See p. 328.



father, but he revived the ancient motto, DIEU ET MON DROIT.

The character of King Charles has been drawn by his zealous adherent, Lord Clarendon, as little short of perfection as a man, though with some blemishes as a king; blemishes, however, betokening tenderness rather than severity, and therefore not likely to give occasion to the calamities that befell him. According to him, the king's greatest fault was distrust of his own judgment, and hence he often changed his own opinion for a worse, and followed the advice of those who did not judge so well as himself. This facility had doubtless much to do with his misfortunes, and he was also unhappy in the choice of his councillors<sup>b</sup>; but these causes are not sufficient to account for the strange and deplorable events that have made his reign so memorable; and it is clear that his own insincerity had a very great share in producing his fall. The concessions which circumstances at various times extorted from him he evidently considered derogatory to his royal dignity; and his conduct with regard to the Petition of Right shewed that he was resolved not to adhere to the most solemn engagement when he had the power to break it. His parliaments learned from this that they could not trust him, and thus his misjudging friends were directly accessory to his death, by laying him open to the violence of the

<sup>b</sup> Some were hateful to the people as Romanists, or favourers of Rome, as Weston, earl of Portland, the treasurer, Lord Cottington, chancellor of the exchequer, and Sir Francis Windebank, the secretary; and some must have been extravagantly dishonest, if Clarendon's statement is to be believed, that of £200,000, raised in a year by the illegal methods practised, scarce £1,500 came to the king's use or account.

army without any defence in the affections of the great body of his people.

A.D. 1625. Charles succeeds to the throne, March 27; he marries the princess Henrietta of France, June 13.

The parliament meets June 18, but is soon after removed to Oxford, on account of the plague then raging in London. The king desires supplies for the war with Spain; the Commons require an account of the last subsidies, and the redress of various grievances concerning religion.

An act passed "for punishing of divers abuses committed on the Lord's Day, called Sunday<sup>c</sup>," [1 Car. I. c. 1].

Dr. Montague's new book, "*Appello Cæsarem*<sup>d</sup>," is censured by the Commons, as containing matters contrary to the Thirty-nine Articles, and the author held to bail to answer any charges against him<sup>e</sup>.

Some English ships are lent to the French king, to be employed against the Protestants at La Rochelle<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> This statute was particularly directed against the Sunday sports allowed by King James (see p. 354); persons frequenting such assemblies were to pay a penalty each time of 3s. 4d., or be set in the stocks.

<sup>d</sup> See p. 360.

<sup>e</sup> The king expressed great resentment at this interference in a matter which he considered belonged only to himself and the clergy, and it was one cause of the dissolution of the parliament which speedily followed.

<sup>f</sup> The sailors generally deserted the vessels, which were thereby rendered almost useless; the Commons were much irritated against the duke of Buckingham, who was believed to be the author of the scheme, and resolved to prosecute him, deferring for the time all consideration of the wants of the king.

The king again urges the Commons for supplies ; they instead complain of mismanagement of public affairs, and impute the war with Spain to the ill conduct of the duke of Buckingham ; the king soon after dissolves them, Aug. 12.

The king raises money by a general loan, and dispatches a fleet, and troops, under Lord Wimbledon, to intercept the Spanish treasure-ships <sup>g</sup>.

The great seal is taken from Williams, bishop of Lincoln <sup>h</sup>, and given to Sir Thomas Coventry, Oct. 25.

A.D. 1626. All persons possessed of £40 a-year ordered to present themselves to receive knighthood, before Jan. 31.

A new parliament assembles, Feb. 6.

Care had been taken to prevent several of the eminent men of the last parliament from sitting in this, by appointing them as sheriffs <sup>i</sup> ; but this stratagem failed in its effect. They steadily refused to grant supplies <sup>k</sup>, until

<sup>g</sup> The armament, which consisted of 80 ships, with 10,000 soldiers, sailed in October, but returned without having effected anything six weeks after. The general (Edward Cecil, a new-made peer, and grandson of lord Burghley,) and his officers mutually accused each other of incapacity or cowardice. The soldiers were kept embodied, and were billeted in private houses, which occasioned great discontent.

<sup>h</sup> He was believed to incline to the Puritanical party, and had had a quarrel with Buckingham, his former patron.

<sup>i</sup> Among them was Sir Edward Coke, lately a judge ; he took exceptions to several parts of the sheriff's oath, and procured the omission of a clause which bound him to destroy Lollards. The bishop of Lincoln and the earl of Bristol, known opponents of Buckingham, had their writs withheld, and were thus prevented at first from attending the parliament ; but they complained to the House of Lords, and were allowed to take their seats.

<sup>k</sup> The king urged them by message to grant money ; and, with reference to their charges against Buckingham, said, "I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned among you, much less such as are of eminent place, and near unto me."

their grievances<sup>1</sup> had been redressed ; they renewed the complaint against Montague, and also preferred articles of impeachment against the duke of Buckingham, Feb. 23, which they presented to the Peers, May 8. These charged him with buying and selling offices and titles ; procuring extravagant grants from the king, and also embezzling his treasure ; extorting money from the East India merchants, plundering seized ships, neglecting the guard of the coast ; lending ships to the French king ; and closed with an insinuation, rather than a charge, of his having procured the death of King James, the plaster and potions which he was said to have administered, being “ deemed to be an act of transcendant presumption and of a dangerous consequence.”

The king sends Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Eliot, who had appeared as the managers of the impeachment, to the Tower, May 10.

The Commons refuse to proceed with business, and after some delay their members are released.

The earl of Arundel<sup>m</sup> is imprisoned by order of the king, but is released after several petitions from the House of Lords, June 8.

The earl of Bristol is accused of treason, by the king's order, May 1 ; he makes answer, and brings counter-charges against the duke of Buckingham, accusing him

<sup>1</sup> These grievances consisted, among others, of an alleged countenancing of the Romanists ; the sale of honours and offices ; the employment of a part of the navy against the Rochellers, and the neglect of the rest, so that the seas had become unsafe to the merchants ; misemployment of the revenue ; and the many high and important offices held by the duke of Buckingham.

<sup>m</sup> Thomas Howard ; his son had married the daughter of the duke of Lenox without the king's permission.

as the cause of the war with Spain ; the king interferes, and wishes to proceed against Bristol in the courts of law, but is hindered by the remonstrance of the House of Lords.

The duke of Buckingham makes answer to the articles against him ; the Commons are dissatisfied, and petition the king to remove him from his councils ; instead, the parliament is dissolved, June 15, and the presentation of a Remonstrance which had been drawn up, reiterating the charges against the duke, prevented.

Some subsidies had been promised, but this hasty dissolution prevented their formal grant. The king was without funds to carry on the war with Spain, and, by the advice of his council, he took steps to raise funds in open violation of the well-known privileges of parliament<sup>n</sup>. He ordered tunnage and poundage to be levied, required loans and benevolences, and issued a commission to compound with recusants. The city of London and the seaports were directed to furnish ships, men were pressed for seamen or soldiers, and, under the pretence of checking their disorders, martial law was proclaimed. Some persons who refused to lend money were imprisoned, and others sent to serve in the fleet. Upwards of 100 ships were raised by this means and sent to sea, under the earl of Denbigh (William Feilding,) but he acted so weakly or corruptly, as greatly to inflame the popular discontent, suffering many of the English merchantmen to be captured before his eyes, and releasing Spanish and Flemish vessels which had been taken by his own men.

<sup>n</sup> See p. 5.

The queen's foreign attendants<sup>o</sup> are dismissed by the king in July, which is one ground of the subsequent war with France.

The inhabitants of the sea-coasts ordered to repair to their own counties, July 10.

A.D. 1627. Cardinal Richelieu<sup>p</sup> undertakes the siege of La Rochelle, the strongest town of the French Protestants; they apply to England for aid, and war is accordingly declared against France.

The duke of Buckingham sails with a fleet and army to La Rochelle; the townsmen distrust his intentions, and decline to admit him.

The duke lands his forces in the Isle of Rhé, July 12; he ineffectually besieges the citadel, and is at last obliged to retire with great loss, Oct. 12.

Five of the gentlemen imprisoned for refusing the loan<sup>q</sup> apply, without success, to the judges for release, Nov. 28.

<sup>o</sup> There were several priests among them, whose proceedings gave much offence to the Puritans; their dismissal was intended to conciliate these people, but it produced no such effect.

<sup>p</sup> Armand du Plessis, Cardinal Richelieu, belonging to a noble Poitevin family, was born in Paris in 1585. He became almoner to Mary de Medicis, and afterwards secretary of state. By adroit management he ruled Louis XIII. and his queen, but he exalted the royal power, and crushed the Huguenots. He made war with success on both Spain and Austria, and intrigued with the Scottish covenanters, in revenge for the assistance given to La Rochelle. He was as able and as unprincipled as Wolsey, was like him a great builder, and bequeathed his noble structure, the Palais Royal, in Paris, to the king; he died Dec. 4, 1642.

<sup>q</sup> They were Sirs John Corbet, Thomas Darnel, Walter Earl, Edward Hampden, and Thomas Heveningham. The judges declared that "a special mandate from the king" was a sufficient cause for their detention, which was justly regarded as equivalent to affirming that both the liberty and the property of the subject were absolutely dependant on the royal will, and was resented as an open violation of Magna Charta. See vol. i. p. 289.

Noblemen and gentlemen ordered to leave London, and reside on their estates in the country<sup>r</sup>, Nov. 28.

A.D. 1628. A third parliament meets, March 17, and sits till June 26. Among its members were several gentlemen who had been imprisoned, or otherwise ill-treated, for refusing the forced loan<sup>s</sup>, and votes were speedily passed, affirming the illegality of imprisonment without cause fully shewn, and of taxes imposed without the authority of parliament.

The Commons hold conferences with the Lords, and petition for the execution of the laws against Romish recusants<sup>t</sup>, which the king promises. They also pass votes against imprisonment, except by due course of law, and employment against the subjects' will in the king's service; and after further conferences with the Lords, at length draw up the Petition of Right, condemning the recent illegal practices, which the king is with much difficulty brought to agree to<sup>u</sup>.

\* Many disobeyed this order, and were in consequence heavily fined in the Star-chamber.

▪ Sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards earl of Strafford) was one of the number.

† In consequence, an act was passed [3 Car. I. c. 3] "against sending any to be popishly bred beyond the seas," which directs the provisions of the statutes [1 Jac. I. cc. 4, 5] made after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot (see p. 346) to be strictly enforced. This, however, was not done, and the sums raised by compounding with recusants formed an important part of the royal revenue during the many years that parliaments were in abeyance.

▪ He sent messages to the houses, desiring them to trust to his royal word, promising to observe the laws, and confessing that Magna Charta and the statutes confirming it were in force. The Lords were inclined to give way, or at least to add a proviso, saving the king's "sovereign power:" but the Commons objected to the term, and the bill was presented. The king gave answer (June 2), that right should be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; this was by both houses pronounced unsatisfactory, and Charles at last (June 7) gave the formal assent, by which the petition was converted into a statute [3 Car. I. c. 1].

The Commons draw up a Remonstrance, accusing Bishops Laud and Neile of favouring popery ; they attribute their other grievances to the evil counsels of the duke of Buckingham, and pray for his removal from the king's service.

Dr. Manwaring's sermons<sup>x</sup> are suppressed by proclamation, June 20.

The king grants special marks of favour to Drs. Montague and Manwaring ; orders the Star Chamber proceedings against the duke to cease, " being satisfied with his innocency ;" declares that " he cannot want tunnage and poundage," though not granted to him ; and soon after adjourns the parliament, June 26.

Bishop Laud is translated from Bath and Wells to London, July 11 ; when he becomes in fact primate, as Archbishop Abbot is under suspension<sup>y</sup>.

The duke of Buckingham is assassinated at Portsmouth<sup>z</sup>, Aug. 23.

The king orders tunnage and poundage to be levied ; several merchants refuse to pay, when their goods are seized and themselves imprisoned<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> See p. 362.

<sup>y</sup> His suspension was popularly attributed to his refusal to license the sermon of Dr. Sibthorp (see p. 362).

<sup>z</sup> He was preparing to embark on an expedition for the relief of La Rochelle. The assassin was John Felton, a gentleman of Suffolk, who had served in the army at the Isle of Rhé, but had been disappointed as to promotion. He stated, however, that he had been chiefly actuated by the Commons' remonstrance, (see above,) which pointed out the duke as the great enemy of the king and the kingdom. Though threatened with the rack, he made no disclosure as to having any confederate ; he was executed at Tyburn, Nov. 28, 1628.

<sup>a</sup> They appealed to the judges ; those of the King's Bench discharged one person (Alderman Chambers), said to be committed for insolent words spoken at the council table, but the barons of the Exchequer ordered his goods to be seized, as they did with many



La Rochelle taken, Oct. 28 <sup>b</sup>.

A.D. 1629. Dr. Montague's Appello Cæsarem suppressed by proclamation, Jan. 17.

The parliament meets Jan. 20. Though greatly urged by the court party, they refused to grant supplies until they had discussed grievances in religion <sup>c</sup>, and were at length dissolved, March 10 <sup>d</sup>, after having voted (March 2), "that whoever should bring in innovation of religion, popery or Arminianism, and any that should advise the taking of tunnage and poundage not granted by parliament, or that should pay the same, should be accounted enemies to the kingdom <sup>e</sup>."

The king publishes a Declaration, justifying his proceedings, and also a Proclamation, which is understood

others, and he was again imprisoned, and remained in confinement above six years.

<sup>b</sup> This event caused great discontent in England, it being considered that the king's officers had not given the place the support they ought to have done. La Rochelle had almost a republican government under a charter granted by Eleanor of Aquitaine, wife of Henry II., and its fall was believed not to be displeasing to the court party. The French Protestants now lost all political influence, but an Edict of Grace was issued in July, 1629, which restored some of their privileges, in the expressed hope of their return to the Romish Church.

<sup>c</sup> They particularly alluded to the favour shewn by the king to Montague and Manwaring; and one member afterwards but too well known, though then obscure, Oliver Cromwell, complained of the bishop of Winchester (Richard Neile) as an encourager of popery.

<sup>d</sup> The king was so unwise as to use coarse and irritating language on this occasion. "He spake to the lords," says Whitelock, "courting them, and said it was merely the seditious carriage of some vipers, members of the lower house, that caused the dissolving of this parliament, but he commended others of the commons."

<sup>e</sup> The speaker (Sir John Finch, afterwards chief justice, and lord Finch of Fordwich) had a few days before declined to put the question that the seizing of goods for tunnage and poundage was a breach of privilege; he now declared that he was ordered to adjourn the House, but he was held in the chair, and the door locked whilst this vote was passed.

as proving his intention to govern in future without parliaments, March 22.

Before the parliament was dissolved, Sir John Eliot, Mr. Selden, and several other members, were summoned before the privy council, committed to the Tower (March 5), and informations were afterwards exhibited against them in the Starchamber. They applied to the court of King's Bench for liberation, but were instead removed to other prisons, and their cause thus postponed until the autumn, when the judges declared they were entitled to be bailed, but must give sureties for their good behaviour, which they refused to do, and so were sent again to the Tower. It was intimated to them that if they would petition for their discharge they would be set at liberty; but they declined the offer, and an information was then laid against them in the King's Bench for a conspiracy to sow discord between the king and his people<sup>f</sup>. Other members of the House were brought over to the king's interest by the gift of office; Noy and Littleton were made attorney and solicitor-general, Sir Dudley Digges master of the rolls, and Sir Thomas Wentworth and Sir John Savile privy councillors.

A.D. 1630. The case of Sir John Eliot and the rest is brought forward in the Court of King's Bench; the prisoners deny the jurisdiction of the court, and when

<sup>f</sup> The king ordered certain questions to be propounded to the judges as to the responsibility of parliament-men to answer out of parliament for their conduct there. The judges replied that they were responsible, but Judge Whitelock, his son says, "did often and highly complain against this way of sending to the judges for their opinion beforehand," and appears to have attributed the step to Bishop Laud.

this is affirmed, refuse to plead further ; they are then condemned to heavy fines, to make submission and acknowledgment of their offences, and to remain in prison until they give security for their good behaviour.

Commissioners appointed to compound for defects in titles to estates<sup>g</sup>, May 27.

A new proclamation issued, commanding the nobles and gentry to reside on their estates in the country<sup>h</sup>, June 20.

A peace is concluded with France, April 14, and with Spain in November<sup>i</sup>.

Dr. Alexander Leighton is set in the pillory, by sentence of the Starchamber, and imprisoned, for writing a book called "Zion's Plea against the Prelates<sup>j</sup>," Nov. 26.

The king and his advisers had now fairly entered on their fatal course of absolute government. In lieu of acts of parliament, proclamations were issued, which were declared to have the force of laws ; the monopolies which had been abolished in the last reign were re-established,

<sup>g</sup> This was one of the disgraceful expedients resorted to to raise money ; it in effect was an inquiry regarding every estate in the kingdom, and occasioned great discontent.

<sup>h</sup> The same effects followed as from the proclamation in 1627, (see p. 381,) and large sums were raised from the contumacious.

<sup>i</sup> In neither of these treaties was any care taken for the interests of the Protestants abroad, in whose cause the wars were avowedly begun.

<sup>j</sup> This work, which was on the title-page stated to be "printed in the year and month wherein Rochelle was lost," not only assailed the bishops, but stigmatized the queen as "a Canaanite and an idolatress." The author, who was a Scottish divine, was twice whipped and branded, had his ears cut off, his nose slit, and suffered nearly eleven years' imprisonment. He was released by the Long Parliament, made keeper of Lambeth palace (then used as a prison), and died mad in the year 1644. His son Robert became archbishop of Glasgow in the time of Charles II.

and new ones devised; fines for not receiving knight-hood were levied to a very large amount<sup>k</sup>; "obsolete laws were revived," says Clarendon, "and rigorously executed," and "unjust projects of all kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot;" nearly the same parties sat in different rooms as the Council, the Starchamber, and the High Commission Court, and by playing into each others' hands, they reared a fabric of unbearable oppression. The judges, too, with some honourable exceptions<sup>l</sup>, had the baseness to pervert the laws to the views of the court, and thus shut out the people from any hope of a peaceable redress of their grievances.

A.D. 1631. St. Catherine Cree church, in the city of London, is consecrated, with much ceremony, by Bishop Laud<sup>m</sup>, Jan. 16.

A commission granted to the bishop of London (William Laud) and others, for the restoration of St. Paul's cathedral<sup>n</sup>, April 10.

Huntley, a clergyman of Kent, who had been impi-

<sup>k</sup> According to documents existing in the Exchequer, £128,728 6s. 6d. had been received from this source as early as Michaelmas term, 1631.

<sup>l</sup> The judges Croke and Whitelock were especially excluded from the censures pronounced on their brethren at the commencement of the Long Parliament.

<sup>m</sup> This formed a very prominent charge against him on his trial twelve years after.

<sup>n</sup> This noble edifice had been greatly neglected and desecrated in the two preceding reigns; some of the chapels had been pulled down, others let out as workshops, and the body of the church was a common lounge for idlers and bad characters. Bishop Laud was particularly active in procuring funds for the good work; he contributed largely himself, gained help from the Universities, as well as from Sir Paul Pindar and other wealthy laymen, and, by the king's permission, appropriated to the restoration the fines imposed in the High Commission Court.

soned by the Court of High Commission, is set at liberty by the judges, and brings an action against the commissioners for false imprisonment<sup>o</sup>.

A.D. 1632. The city of London fined 1,500 marks for alleged neglect of duty<sup>p</sup>.

Courts of justice-seat are held to inquire of infractions of the obsolete forest laws and encroachments, by which great fines are imposed and heavy rents exacted<sup>q</sup>.

A.D. 1633. The "feoffees for impropriations"<sup>r</sup> censured in the Star-chamber, and their livings forfeited to the crown, Feb. 13.

\* He had, two years before, refused to preach at a visitation, though ordered by the archdeacon; for this breach of canonical obedience he was fined and imprisoned, but the judges declared that his offence subjected him only to ecclesiastical censures, and thus emboldened him to sue the commissioners. The king sent for the judges, and ordered them not to entertain the action against the commissioners, but they pleaded the obligation of their oath; and, after some further argument before the council, it was agreed that the commissioners should plead; the case, however, does not appear to have come to trial.

<sup>p</sup> In 1628 (March 12), an old man of the name of Lamb, who was supposed to be in the confidence of the duke of Buckingham, was so ill-used in the streets of the city, that he died in consequence. No magistrate appeared to quell the tumult, nor was any one then punished for it; the reviving of the matter at such a distance of time was looked on as a mere expedient to raise money.

<sup>q</sup> These courts were held before Henry Rich, earl of Holland, as chief-justice in eyre south of Trent; they inquired into and punished alleged encroachments of three to four hundred years' standing; and, according to the preamble of the act passed in 1641, "for the certainty of forests," [16 Car. I. c. 16,] "endeavoured to set on foot forests where in truth none have been, or ought to be, or at least have not been used of long time."

<sup>r</sup> This was a self-constituted corporation, which raised subscriptions avowedly to purchase impropriate rectories, and thereby relieve the poverty of the Church; they, however, mainly devoted their funds to the support of a "faithful preaching ministry," who were uniformly Puritans; hence Bishop Laud laboured to procure their suppression. The scheme had been devised by John Preston, a noted preacher (born at Northampton in 1587, died in July, 1628) at Cambridge, where he had gained the favour of James by his skill in disputation.

The city of London fined £50,000 in the Starchamber, and their plantation in Ulster seized into the king's hands, for some alleged neglects in its management, Mar. 8.

The king visits Scotland, and is crowned there, June 18; he returns to England early in August.

One reason for this journey was to defeat a scheme of detaching Scotland from his obedience, which there was reason to think was entertained by the marquis of Hamilton (James Hamilton<sup>s</sup>); another, to complete the restoration of episcopacy commenced by James I., and to introduce the English Liturgy. The king founded the bishopric of Edinburgh, and bestowed high offices on several prelates, but left the introduction of the Liturgy unattempted<sup>t</sup>, from scruples as to appearing to interfere with the independence of Scotland.

Lord Wentworth is appointed deputy of Ireland, July 3<sup>u</sup>.

\* He was of the blood royal, being descended from a daughter of James II. Charles refused to credit the accusations against him, and afterwards employed him to negotiate with the Covenanters, but his conduct was so ambiguous, that when he repaired to the king at Oxford, after the war had broken out, he was sent a prisoner into Cornwall, where he remained until released by the parliamentary forces. In 1648, however, he headed the Scottish army which invaded England in the cause of the king, but was defeated and captured, and was beheaded early in 1649. His brother William, the second duke, was killed in the royal cause at Worcester.

<sup>t</sup> After his return, orders were sent for the use of the English Liturgy in the king's chapel in Edinburgh, but the council did not think it prudent to comply with the direction.

\* He held this office until 1639, when he was created lord lieu-



Crest of Hamilton.

Bishop Laud is translated to the see of Canterbury, August; he is succeeded as bishop of London by Bishop Juxon<sup>x</sup>.

William Prynne<sup>y</sup> is committed to the Tower for his book "*Histriomastix*," a condemnation of plays, supposed to reflect on the queen, who sometimes took part in the masques and similar diversions of the court.

The Book of Sports of King James<sup>z</sup> is again published by royal authority, Oct. 18, which is displeasing to many beside the Puritans<sup>a</sup>.

tenant. His administration was perfectly despotic, and marked by many acts of violence and cruelty. He endeavoured to expel all Scots who had taken the Covenant from Ireland, and thus earned their hatred, which pursued him to the scaffold.

<sup>x</sup> William Juxon, a native of Chichester, born in 1582, was educated at St. John's College, Oxford, and became president there. He was a friend of Bishop Laud, and by his influence was removed in 1633 from the see of Hereford, before consecration, to that of London, was also made lord treasurer, and received many marks of the favour of Charles I., whom he attended on the scaffold. At the Restoration he was translated to Canterbury, but held the primacy a very short time, dying in his eighty-first year, June 4, 1663. Though his secular office in the time preceding the civil war was distasteful to many, a cotemporary (Whitelock) bears this honourable testimony to Bishop Juxon's character: "He was a person of great parts and temper, and had as much command of himself as of his hounds;" [he much delighted in hunting;] "he was full of ingenuity and meekness, not apt to give offence to any, and willing to do good to all."

<sup>y</sup> He was a Somersetshire man, born in 1600, and educated at Oxford, where he studied the law. He was a friend of Preston, the Puritan, and being conspicuous for moving for prohibitions to stop proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts, the heavy punishment inflicted on him was popularly, though probably unjustly, attributed to the influence of the archbishop. Prynne was fined £5,000, expelled from the University and the bar, placed in the pillory, where his ears were cut off, and sentenced to imprisonment until he made recantation; this confinement, however, was not so rigid as might have been expected, as during it he wrote other works, which, being printed abroad and circulated in England, occasioned a second trial and further cruel usage, in 1637.

<sup>z</sup> See p. 354.

<sup>a</sup> Some ministers refused to read it; one of them (Laurence Snelling, rector of Paul's Cray, Kent) was deprived of his living and

A.D. 1634. The coasts both of England and Ireland are infested by pirates ; the Dutch endeavour to exclude the English from the northern fisheries, and fish on the English coasts without license<sup>b</sup>. To raise a fleet, a writ of ship-money is devised, requiring the maritime counties and towns to pay certain fixed sums ; but this being judged insufficient, in a short time the writs are directed to all counties and towns alike.

Cardinal Richelieu sends agents to Scotland, who intrigue with the discontented.

The lord deputy (Wentworth) claims the whole province of Connaught as belonging to the crown<sup>c</sup>.

A.D. 1635. A fleet of forty vessels is sent to sea, under the earl of Lindsey, and another of twenty vessels under the earl of Essex, for the protection of merchants ; many of the Dutch fishing vessels are sunk or taken.

A proclamation issued against departing out of the realm without license<sup>d</sup>, July 21.

Archbishop Laud holds a visitation, in which, among excommunicated for disobedience in this particular by the High Commission Court in 1637.

<sup>b</sup> Their eminent statesman, Hugo Grotius, wrote his "*Mare Liberum*," in justification of these proceedings ; while the equally eminent Selden, in his "*Mare Clausum*," shewed that the sovereignty of the narrow seas had belonged to England from the earliest times. This had in former times been acknowledged on all hands (see vol. i. p. 371) ; but the weakness of the government, which had suffered the English navy to fall to decay, encouraged the enterprising republicans now to deny it.

<sup>c</sup> The claim was compounded for, but it justly alarmed every landed proprietor in Ireland, and this was one great cause of the insurrection of 1641.

<sup>d</sup> "Ministers unconformable to the discipline and ceremonies of the Church," it appears, were in the habit of retiring to the Bermudas ; none were in future to go, except by license of the archbishop of Canterbury ; and those already there were to be brought back by a ship which the lord admiral (Algernon Percy, earl of Northumberland) was ordered to fit out.



other things, he insists on the communion table in churches being placed altarwise ; the bishop of Lincoln (John Williams) denounces this as an innovation.

The archbishop endeavours to reduce the descendants of the French and Walloon settlers to conformity with the Church.

These congregations were found in London, Norwich, Southampton, Canterbury, Maidstone, Sandwich, and elsewhere ; and, according to the archbishop's statement, which is well supported, there were ample reasons for his interference. They evinced no thankfulness for the protection they had so long enjoyed ; their members, though born in England, seldom learnt the language, they refused to impart a knowledge of their manufactures to Englishmen, and, by "living in England as if they were a kind of God's Israel in Egypt," they reflected dishonour on the Church, and encouraged nonconformity, and "became a kind of State within a State;" so that he justly thought "no State could with safety, or would in wisdom, endure it<sup>e</sup>."

The lord deputy (Wentworth) procures the formal adoption of the English Articles by the Irish Church<sup>f</sup>.

\* This was made an accusation against him at his trial, when he was charged with endeavouring to sow dissension between the English and the other Reformed Churches ; but it appears from the original act (Sept. 26, 1635) that the matter was misrepresented, when it was said that he had suppressed these congregations. They were still to continue, but to be composed of foreign-born members only ; their descendants were to "conform themselves to the English Liturgy, every one in his parish," their occasional resort to the foreign churches, however, not being prohibited. The bishop of Norwich (Matthew Wren) zealously seconded the archbishop's views, and in consequence many of the foreigners left that city.

<sup>f</sup> The Articles of the Church in Ireland were more decidedly Calvinistic than those in England, as the Lambeth Articles (see p. 317) had been incorporated with them. It was owing to the advice of

A.D. 1636. The king encloses a very large space of ground for a park at Richmond, taking, in some cases, men's land without their consent<sup>g</sup>.

The tax of ship-money being much murmured against, the king requires the opinion of the judges, all of whom declare, that in case of danger to the whole kingdom, the king can by law levy it from all his subjects, and that he is the sole judge of the danger<sup>h</sup>. John Hampden<sup>i</sup>, a Buckinghamshire gentleman, and several others, refuse to pay the tax, and are in consequence sued in the court of Exchequer.

A.D. 1637. A proclamation issued, April 30, imposing restrictions on emigration to America. This proclamation states that "men of idle and refractory humours, whose only or principal end is to live without

Archbishop Laud that this step was taken, which was reluctantly acceded to by Archbishop Usher and the Irish prelates, who looked upon it as a surrender of the independence of their national Church.

<sup>g</sup> Archbishop Laud strongly opposed this project; so did Lord Cottington, but to annoy the archbishop (with whom he was at variance) he pretended the contrary, and argued in a way which well illustrates the mode of converting light matters into serious offences which then prevailed in the courts. He said the park would be convenient for the king's pleasure in the winter season, without his being obliged to make any long journeys; that to oppose his resolutions therein could only proceed from want of affection to his person, and he was not sure that it might not be high treason. "The other," says Clarendon, "upon the wildness of his discourse, in great anger asked him, 'Why? whence had he received that doctrine?' Cottington coolly replied, 'They who did not wish the king's health could not love him; and they who went about to hinder his taking recreation, which preserves his health, might be thought, for aught he knew, guilty of the highest crimes.'"

<sup>h</sup> The names of these judges were, Finch, chief-justice (see p. 383); Berkley, Bramston, Crawley, Croke, Davenport, Denham, Hutton, Jones, Trevor, Vernon, and Weston.

<sup>i</sup> He was cousin to Oliver Cromwell, sat in the Long Parliament for Buckinghamshire, and on the breaking out of the war became a colonel. He was mortally wounded in a skirmish at Chalgrove, near Oxford, June 18, 1648, and died six days after.

the reach of authority," daily withdraw themselves with their families to the plantations, where many disorders have been caused by them. It therefore ordains that no persons of property ("subsidy-men") shall quit the country without the license of the privy council, nor poorer men without license of the justices, and all are to produce certificates of having taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the testimony of their parish minister as to conformity in ecclesiastical matters.

The cause of ship-money is argued at great length before the twelve judges, when they all, except Croke and Hutton, give their judgment for the crown, June 12.

### THE STARCHAMBER AND THE LIBELLERS.

A.D. 1637. Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick<sup>1</sup>, are condemned in the Starchamber for seditious writings, June 14; they are placed in the pillory together, and mutilated, June 30.

The punishments inflicted on these men were of the most merciless character, and have brought just odium on the court which ordered them, though it cannot be denied that their conduct was such as to provoke authority to lay its hand heavily upon them.

<sup>1</sup> William Prynne, as already mentioned, was a barrister. Henry Burton, a divine, was born in Yorkshire in 1579; he had been tutor to several noblemen, and at one time was clerk of the closet to Prince Charles, in which office he was superseded by Bishop Laud. He became incumbent of St. Matthew, Friday-street, London, and preached there, on Nov. 5, 1636, a sermon from Proverbs xxiv. 21, 22, which occasioned his citation before the High Commission Court. Robert Bastwick was born in Essex in 1593; he studied at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, had long travelled abroad, and had recently settled as a physician at Colchester, when his book against episcopacy brought him into trouble.

Prynne had already suffered four years' imprisonment for his "*Histriomastix*<sup>k</sup>," but, undeterred by this, he contrived to have printed "*A Divine Tragedy, containing a catalogue of God's judgments against Sabbath-breakers*," in which the clergy who read the Book of Sports were classed with the most heinous offenders. Burton also, while in the hands of the court for his sermon, printed "*News from Ipswich*," containing charges of Romish innovation against Bishop Wren, of Norwich, whose fidelity to the Church had rendered him very odious to the Puritans. Bastwick published a book called "*Elenchus Papismi*," identifying prelacy and popery, and, when questioned for it, in the same spirit of contumacy, followed it up with "*A New Litany*." The works of the whole were worded in the style of the most offensive of the Mar-Prelate tracts<sup>l</sup>; and the writers, when in gaol, so openly defied all authority<sup>m</sup>, that the judges declared it was only owing to the king's mercy that they were not charged with treason<sup>n</sup>.

Prynne was already under sentence of what was pro-

<sup>k</sup> See p. 389.

<sup>l</sup> See p. 315.

<sup>m</sup> The answers that they prepared to the articles exhibited against them were so violent that no advocates could be found to incur the responsibility of presenting them; hence they declared that they were condemned unheard. One specimen of these answers is preserved by Whitelock: "That the prelates are invaders of the king's prerogative royal, contemners and despisers of the Holy Scriptures, advancers of popery, superstition, idolatry, and profaneness: also they abuse the king's authority, to the oppression of his loyal subjects, and therein exercise great cruelty, tyranny, and injustice; and in execution of those impious performances they shew neither wit, honesty, nor temperance. Nor are they either servants of God or of the king, but of the devil, being enemies of God and the king, and of every living thing that is good. All which the said Dr. Bastwick is ready to maintain, &c."

<sup>n</sup> There seems no reasonable doubt that they would have suffered as traitors under the reign of Elizabeth. See pp. 293, 315.

bably equivalent to imprisonment for life<sup>o</sup>; the same sentence was now pronounced against the other two. They were all fined £5,000 each, degraded from their professions, placed in the pillory, their ears cut off<sup>p</sup>, their cheeks and foreheads branded<sup>q</sup>, and they were then removed to Lancaster, Launceston, and Carnarvon. Some expressions of sympathy with Prynne on his journey through Coventry and Chester, (for which both places were heavily fined,) occasioned a change in their destinations, (Aug. 27,) and they were sent, Prynne to Jersey, Burton to Guernsey, and Bastwick to Scilly, where they remained rigidly immured until released by order of the Long Parliament.

The Puritans chose to attribute the severity of the sentence to Archbishop Laud, and affixed placards in conspicuous places, saying, that "the arch-wolf of Canterbury had his hand in persecuting the saints and shedding the blood of the martyrs." It appears, however, from his speech, that the blame rested elsewhere<sup>r</sup>.

A decree of the Star-chamber is issued for the regulation of printing and letter-founding, July 1.

<sup>o</sup> He was to be imprisoned until he made submission; a customary judgment.

<sup>p</sup> Prynne had already suffered this mutilation; what remained of his ears was pared off so closely that his life was endangered.

<sup>q</sup> Clarendon, though condemning the men as persons of bad repute, remarks on the insult offered to the learned professions by this proceeding, and says, "Every profession, with anger and indignation enough, thought their education, and degrees, and quality, would have secured them from such infamous judgments, and treasured up wrath for the time to come."

<sup>r</sup> He treated Burton as the chief offender, and replied at length to fourteen charges of Romish innovation urged by him; said that, having answered Rabshakeh, he should not confute his associates; and concluded, "Because the business hath some reflection on myself, I shall forbear to censure them, and leave them to God's mercy and the king's justice."

By this edict the press, and all parties connected with it, were placed under the most rigorous surveillance. The number of master-printers was limited to twenty, (named in the decree,) who were to give security for good behaviour in £300, and were to have not more than two presses and two apprentices each, unless they were, or had been, masters or wardens of the Stationers' Company; then they might have three presses, and a like number of apprentices; and there were to be but four letter-founders. One penalty for almost every offence was disability to exercise the profession either as master or journeyman; and as this would probably result in "printing in corners without license," practising the arts of printing, book-binding, letter-founding, or making any part of a press, or other printing materials, by persons disqualified, or not apprenticed thereto\*, was to be punished by whipping, the pillory, and imprisonment. No books were to be reprinted without a fresh license, although they might have been formerly examined and allowed; and books brought from abroad were to be landed in London only, and each was to be carefully examined by persons appointed by the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, who had power to seize and destroy all "seditious, schismatical, or offensive" productions; and periodical searches were to be made both of booksellers' shops and private houses. The activity of the Puritans, however, was more than a match for the law, and books fully deserving all these

\* In the time of Elizabeth a private press was discovered in the house of a Romanist lady (Mrs. Stonar), the workmen being her domestic servants.

titles were as widely circulated as before<sup>†</sup>, and had a great share in producing the convulsions that followed<sup>‡</sup>.

A.D. 1637. The bishop of Lincoln (John Williams) is proceeded against in the Star Chamber for sedition and libel<sup>§</sup>, is heavily fined and imprisoned, July 11; he is

<sup>†</sup> Some were imported from abroad, but much the greater number were printed at private presses in England.

<sup>‡</sup> One person who suffered for distributing the books of Prynne and his friends was the noted John Lilburne, then a London apprentice of eighteen (he was born at Durham, of a gentleman's family, in 1616); he bore a severe whipping from the Fleet to Westminster (April 18, 1638) with a stoicism which procured for him the name of "Sturdy John," and, being released from prison by the Long Parliament, he took up arms in their cause, fought desperately at Edgehill, Brentford, and elsewhere, and gained the rank of lieutenant-colonel. A money compensation was voted to him, but this it seems he only received in part, and the remainder of his life was passed in vain efforts to obtain it, and in quarrels with every one with whom he came in contact. His general, the earl of Manchester, complained of his insubordination, and he was committed to the Tower; Cromwell procured his release, but he was soon again imprisoned for "writing a seditious book," and when he regained his liberty, so far from seeking to conciliate those in power, he joined the Levellers, and, beside other works, wrote his "England's new Chains," in which the hypocrisy and tyranny of the Council of State and Cromwell were mercilessly exposed. After being acquitted on a charge of treason, he was banished by Act of Parliament, early in 1652, and, in strict accordance with his character, refused to kneel at the bar while receiving sentence. When the parliament was overthrown by Cromwell, Lilburne returned, and addressed "The Banished Man's Plea" to him, but instead of favour was sent for trial. Here he conducted himself with singular address, and was, after a three days' trial, acquitted. Cromwell, however, committed him a prisoner to Jersey, but at length became reconciled to him, and by letter of privy seal, dated March 31, 1656, granted him a pension of 40s. a-week, which was on Dec. 22, 1657, continued to his widow Elizabeth. Lilburne had joined the new sect of Quakers, and was buried among them, Aug. 31, 1657, the funeral being accompanied by a quarrel which nearly ended in blows from a difference of opinion among his admirers as to using or dispensing with a pall to his coffin.

<sup>§</sup> He had long favoured the Puritans, and was charged with saying that they were the king's best subjects; his papers being seized, some of them were pronounced libellous. The speech charged against him not being fully proved, it was said that he had tampered

suspended from office by the High Commission Court, July 24.

### SCOTLAND.

A.D. 1637. A book of canons is prepared for Scotland; and a liturgy, differing in some points from that of the Church of England, is ordered to be used there. Its first celebration at Edinburgh (Sunday, July 23) is marked by great tumult, and the Scottish council forbear to press it further.

The canons and liturgy had been prepared by the Scottish prelates, and revised by the archbishop of Canterbury; they contained nothing but what had been all along held for sound doctrine and orderly discipline by the Church of England; but their introducers overlooked the very important fact, that the Reformation in Scotland had been carried on by men who shook the throne, and regarded episcopacy as contrary to the Gospel, and that their disciples were little likely to receive with favour a book which asserted the divine right of kings, or a form of service which restrained the freedom of praying and preaching and ministering of the sacraments according to his own views, which each minister of the Scottish kirk had so long exercised. This neglect was aggravated by an injudicious mode of proceeding. The canons and the liturgy were introduced merely by the royal authority, without any reference to the General Assembly, the recognised organ of the Scottish kirk, and hence they were plausibly

with the witnesses. His friend, Dr. Osbaldistone, who had written some letters which gave offence, succeeded in concealing himself, but the bishop was imprisoned until the general release of political prisoners in 1640.



represented as offensive at once to the national independence, and to the "pure evangel" of Christ.

A proclamation published, Aug. 18, of the king's determination to uphold the power of the High Commission and other ecclesiastical courts<sup>2</sup>.

The people repair in multitudes to Edinburgh, in October, and petition the council to procure the withdrawal of the new Service-book. The council orders them to return to their homes, but the direction is disregarded; several of the council are ill-treated in the streets, (Oct. 18,) its session is removed to Linlithgow, and many of the bishops retire to England.

The petition of the people (to whom most of the nobility and gentry had now joined themselves) is forwarded to the king; he sends in answer a proclamation (dated Dec. 7) forbidding such assemblies under the penalty of treason, but the council do not at once publish it.

A.D. 1638. The king's proclamation is published at Edinburgh, Feb. 15.

The earl of Home and several other noblemen, the clergy and gentry, protest against its denial of their right of petitioning, and, under the name of Tables, form a

• Scruples on this very point actuated the king himself, but he was unfortunately induced to abandon them.

• The civilians in these courts laboured zealously to extend their jurisdiction, which gave rise to great jealousy on the part of the lawyers; hence prohibitions were readily granted by the king's courts to stay proceedings. These prohibitions it was the delight of the nonconformists to procure, and they were brought into court in the most offensive manner. Archbishop Laud mentions one thrown into the court, which struck him on the breast; and another handed to the judge, amid jeers and laughter, on a stick. Such conduct must be taken into account, when blaming the severities exercised in this reign.

kind of provisional government, which keeps possession of Edinburgh, and in effect rules the whole country.

The Covenant<sup>a</sup> is drawn up and published by the Tables, March 1, and is eagerly signed by all classes.

A fresh proclamation issued, forbidding persons to remove to New England without license, May 1.

The marquis of Hamilton is sent as commissioner to Scotland in June; he fails to procure the renunciation of the Covenant.

The king sends a declaration (dated Sept. 9), abandoning the canons and liturgy, and promising to call a general assembly and a parliament.

The people, without waiting for the royal permission, elect a general assembly<sup>b</sup>, which meets at Glasgow, Nov. 21. The bishops protest against the assembly as illegal, and the marquis formally dissolves it, Nov. 28; but it sits notwithstanding, till Dec. 20, pronounces the abolition of episcopacy, deposes the bishops in a body, and excommunicates four of their number.

The Covenanters prepare for war against the king: they levy taxes, seize on and garrison the fortresses, enter into formal communications with the king of France, invite Scottish officers and soldiers from the German wars, and correspond with the Puritan party in England<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> This professed to be based on a document which James VI. had signed in the year 1580, but a number of clauses were added, which gave it a new character; the most important being one by which the subscribers bound themselves to resist the attempted innovations against all persons whatever.

<sup>b</sup> It was composed, contrary to the king's wish, of equal numbers of ministers and laymen (styled ruling elders).

<sup>c</sup> "I wanted not solicitations on the behalf of the Covenanters," says Whitelock, "but I persuaded my friends not to foment these

A.D. 1639. The king levies troops against the Scots, and publishes a declaration, (Feb. 27,) charging them with seeking to overthrow the regal power under pretence of religion. The Scots issue a counter declaration, asserting that they have no evil intention towards the king or the English people, but have taken up arms for their defence from the "meditated introduction of popery," Feb. 7.

The Scots seize the castles of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, Stirling, and other strong posts, in March.

The king's army, under the earls of Arundel, Essex, and Holland, marches to York, committing many excesses in its way; a fleet, under the marquis of Hamilton, sails into the Frith of Forth.

The king repairs to York, in April, where he revokes a number of oppressive grants and monopolies.

The English army advances as far as Berwick, but soon retires without coming to hostilities; the Scots then send commissioners to York, a pacification<sup>d</sup> is concluded, June 18, and the king soon after returns to London.

The Scottish assembly and parliament meet in August; they formally abolish episcopacy, and propose acts limiting the royal power. The parliament is in con-

growing public differences, nor to be any means of encouraging a foreign nation, proud and subtle, against our natural prince, and feared great and evil consequences thereof."

<sup>d</sup> By this treaty the Scottish army was to be immediately disbanded, and the royal fortresses surrendered, but neither was done, and the Covenanters pursued with rigour all who had taken arms for the king. Disputes also arose about the terms of the treaty, and the Scots published a paper concerning it, which was adjudged libellous and seditious by the council in England, and was ordered to be burnt by the hangman.

sequence prorogued by the king's commissioner (John Stuart, earl of Traquair), but they protest against this as invalid without their own consent, and send deputies to present a remonstrance to the king.

A Spanish fleet is defeated by the Dutch in the Downs\*, Oct. 11, 12.

The king prepares for a fresh war with the Scots. Large sums are procured from the Romanists by the queen's influence, whence the force equipped is invidiously styled "the popish army."

A.D. 1640. The Scots send fresh commissioners to London, one of whom (Lord Loudoun) is detected in a correspondence with the king of France, and is sent to the Tower.

The king, by the advice of Wentworth and Laud, calls a parliament, after eleven years' cessation. It meets April 13; the former dispute as to voting supplies before grievances are redressed is resumed, and, after some ineffectual conferences between the two Houses, the parliament is dissolved, May 5.

The convocation continues its sitting until May 29, in virtue of an opinion of the law officers of the crown; it grants a subsidy of £120,000, and frames canons, in which the divine right of kings and the duty of passive obedience are inculcated<sup>f</sup>.

\* The Spaniards lay in the Downs some days before they were attacked, and the king offered to escort them safely to Flanders or Spain for a sum of money; but whilst the negotiation was pending, the Dutch bore down on them and destroyed them, although the English fleet was present under Admiral Pennington.

<sup>f</sup> An oath was also imposed by one canon (the sixth), "for the preventing of all innovations in doctrine and government," refusal to take which was to be punished by the loss of all ecclesiastical preferment. Another canon (the fifth), "Against Sectaries," subjected

An attack is made on Archbishop Laud's palace at Lambeth, May 11; this, as "levying war," is held to be treason by the judges, and one man is executed for it, May 23.

Large contributions are raised for the king's service, and his army, commanded by the earls of Northumberland and Strafford, and Lord Conway, advances against the Scots.

The Scots enter England, Aug. 20; they pass the Tyne at Newburn, defeating there a party of the English, Aug. 27, and take possession of Newcastle.

The king, who had remained at York, summons the peers to meet him there on Sept. 24.

They assemble, when the king informs them of his intention to call a parliament, and gives a commission to the earl of Essex and fifteen other peers to treat with commissioners from the Scots; a cessation of arms is agreed on, at Ripon, Oct. 26, and the discussion of the various demands removed to London<sup>8</sup>.

The High Commission Court sits for the last time, at St. Paul's, when the people make a tumult, tear up the benches, and cry, "No Bishops! no High Commission!" Oct. 22.

"Anabaptists, Brownists, Separatists, Familists," and other dissentients to the same proceedings and penalties, as far as applicable, as Romish recusants, and directed the burning of any "book, writing, or scandalous pamphlet devised against the government of the Church," equally with those inculcating Socinianism. The continuing of this convocation after the parliament had been dissolved was made an accusation against Archbishop Laud, though he had acted by legal advice.

<sup>8</sup> One of the Scottish commissioners was Alexander Henderson, a preacher; the church of St. Augustine by St. Paul's was given up to him, and his violent sermons had great effect in augmenting the popular discontent.

The parliament meets<sup>b</sup> Nov. 3. "The first week," says Whitelock, "was spent in naming general committees, and establishing them<sup>i</sup>, and receiving a great many petitions, both from particular persons and some from multitudes, and brought by troops of horsemen from several counties, craving redress of grievances and of exorbitances, both in Church and State."

The bishop of Lincoln<sup>j</sup>, Prynne, Burton, Bastwick<sup>k</sup>, Leighton, Lilburne, Chambers<sup>l</sup>, and many others, imprisoned by sentence of the Starchamber or Court of High Commission, bring forward complaints of their treatment; a committee is appointed to investigate the same, and they are ordered to be brought to London.

The Commons present articles of impeachment against the earl of Strafford<sup>m</sup>, Nov. 11, when he is committed to

<sup>b</sup> They chose for their Speaker William Lenthall, a bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and member for Woodstock.

<sup>i</sup> See Notes and Illustrations.

<sup>j</sup> See p. 397.

<sup>k</sup> A money compensation was voted to them, but it does not appear to have been paid to the two latter, who took no further part in public affairs; Bastwick's widow (Susanna), however, received (July 7, 1655) a pension of 20s. weekly from Cromwell, which was increased to 40s. Dec. 24, 1655, as appears by the letters of privy seal. Prynne fared better, as he was employed in collecting the evidence against Archbishop Laud, when he treated the captive with extreme harshness. He at length became obnoxious to the army for opposing the murder of the king, but lived unnoticed during the Protectorate, and at the Restoration obtained the office of keeper of the records in the Tower, which he held till his death, in 1669.

<sup>l</sup> The sum of £13,680 was voted to Chambers, as a compensation for his sufferings and losses out of a fine of £50,000 imposed on the farmers of the customs. A petition of his to the parliament in 1654 states that he received none of this money, and had been deprived of a place in the customs granted to him in lieu of it. In 1656 (July 31) he had letters of privy seal granting him the above sum out of the moiety of any discoveries of concealed lands, &c. that he might make; but he did not succeed in this, and he died in poverty in 1658.

<sup>m</sup> The principal man in this proceeding was Mr. Pym. He was

the custody of the usher ; he is removed to the Tower, Nov. 25.

The king at first refuses to allow any of his council to be examined by the parliament, but soon gives way, and Archbishop Laud is so examined, Dec. 4.

Sir Francis Windebank, secretary of state, being accused of corruptly favouring Romanists, escapes to France<sup>n</sup>. The lord keeper, Finch of Fordwich, being impeached, after a speech in his own defence, before the Commons, flees to Holland<sup>o</sup>.

The canons lately made are voted unlawful, after a two days' debate, Dec. 16 ; Archbishop Laud is named as their author, the Scots present a complaint against him as " the great incendiary," and he is committed to the custody of the usher, Dec. 18.

The archbishop is fined £500 as amends to Sir Robert Howard, imprisoned by his order in 1637<sup>p</sup>.

A.D. 1641. The Commons order that " commissions be sent into all counties for the defacing, demolishing, and quite taking away of all images, altars, or tables turned altar-wise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, mo-

born in Somersetshire in 1584, was a lawyer, and had once held an office in the Exchequer. He had sat in the two preceding parliaments, and was regarded with much deference by his party. Pym died in the year 1643.

<sup>n</sup> He died there soon after.

<sup>o</sup> He had, as chief justice, been very instrumental in procuring the other judges' opinions in favour of ship-money ; had been a prominent member of the Starchamber, and was believed to have advised the sudden dissolution of the last parliament. He returned at the Restoration, sat on the trial of the regicides, and died shortly after.

<sup>p</sup> Sir Robert had contracted an adulterous marriage with the Viscountess Purbeck, and had rescued her from confinement when sentenced to a public penance ; for this he suffered an imprisonment of three months in the Gatehouse at Westminster.

numents, and reliques of idolatry, out of all churches or chapels <sup>q</sup>," Jan. 23.

Sir Edward Littleton is made lord keeper <sup>r</sup>, Jan. 29.

The charges against the earl of Strafford (twenty-eight in number <sup>s</sup>) are laid before the House of Lords, Jan. 30.

An act passed (Feb. 15) "for the prevention of inconveniences happening by the long intermission of parliaments" (16 Car. I. c. 1). This important act provides for the meeting of a parliament at least once in three years; imposes an oath on the lord chancellor and other officers concerned to issue the necessary writs, and, in case of the default of any of them, empowers the people to elect representatives, who shall meet on the third Monday in January; the House of Commons so formed, as well as the House of Peers, being incapable of being prorogued or dissolved under fifty days from their first meeting without their own consent <sup>t</sup>.

<sup>q</sup> In consequence, the crosses at Charing, St. Paul's, and Cheapside were thrown down by Sir Robert Harlow; other fanatics desecrated the churches, and hindered the public service. The journal of one of the commissioners (Thomas Dowsing, employed in the eastern counties,) has been preserved and published. It fully bears out the complaints of Bishop Hall and others of most vile and barbarous profanation. See Notes and Illustrations.

<sup>r</sup> He continued with the parliament some time after the king had left London, but then repaired to him, taking the great seal with him, which obliged the parliament to fabricate a new seal for themselves. He died in office, Aug. 27, 1645.

<sup>s</sup> There were at first but nine articles, but these were afterwards amplified into the above number. He was charged with ruling Ireland and the north of England by the sword, and endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws; with stirring up hostility with Scotland, and labouring to subvert parliaments. The Scottish commissioners and some members of the Irish parliament also exhibited charges against him, but they were in substance contained in the articles exhibited by the House of Commons.

<sup>t</sup> This act was repealed in 1664 (16 Car. II. c. 1), as being derogatory to the Crown.



Sir Robert Berkley, one of the judges, accused of high treason, is seized on the bench and committed to prison, Feb. 13<sup>u</sup>.

The charges against Archbishop Laud<sup>v</sup> are brought forward, Feb. 26; he is sent to the Tower, March 1.

The House of Commons passes a vote against bishops sitting in parliament, or any clerk holding temporal authority, March 10.

The earl of Strafford's trial commences, before the earl of Arundel, as high steward, and the House of Peers, March 22.

In the course of the trial (April 13), a paper is produced against him<sup>w</sup>, purporting to be minutes of advice given by him at the council-table, May 5, 1640, ("You have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience"); he denies its genuineness; various points of law are argued by his counsel, and the Peers seem unlikely to convict him.

The Commons pass a bill of attainder against him<sup>x</sup>, April 21, to which the Lords at length consent, April 29.

The king addresses the parliament, desiring them to

<sup>u</sup> He was subsequently released without trial, on payment of a composition of £10,000.

<sup>v</sup> There were fourteen original and ten supplementary articles, but all may be comprised under the three heads of endeavouring (1) to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm and introduce arbitrary government; (2) to subvert true religion and introduce popery; and (3) to subvert the rights of parliament.

<sup>w</sup> It was brought forward by Sir Henry Vane, who professed he had found it among the papers of his father, the secretary of state.

<sup>x</sup> Lord Digby, son of the earl of Bristol, and fifty-four others voted against it; their names were posted in the streets as "Straffordians, who, to save a traitor, would betray their country." The House, when complained to, refused to notice this infringement of its freedom of debate.

spare the life of the earl, "whom in honour and conscience he cannot believe guilty of treason, and therefore will not consent to the bill against him," but confessing him to be unfit evermore to be employed in any place of trust, May 1.

Some preachers on the next day (Sunday) incite the multitude to demand the execution of the earl; they accordingly repair tumultuously to Westminster the following day, May 3.

The king endeavours to procure the escape of the earl from the Tower, but the plan is frustrated by the vigilance of the lieutenant, Sir William Balfour<sup>7</sup>.

A plan to bring the English army from the north to overawe the parliament<sup>8</sup> is discovered. The Commons in consequence draw up a Protestation (May 5) of their resolve to maintain the Protestant faith against Romish innovation, to protect the king's person, the freedom of the parliament, and the rights and liberties of the subject. This Protestation was also taken by the peers and bishops, but a bill intended to impose it on all classes was rejected.

The king at length gives his consent, by commission, to the act of attainder of the earl of Strafford<sup>9</sup> [16 Car. I.

<sup>7</sup> He was a Scottish Covenanter, who had been placed in that office at the express demand of the Commons.

<sup>8</sup> The plan, in which Jermyn, Goring, Legg, and others of the royal officers were participators, was clearly proved to have received the sanction of the king, and it served ever after with his adversaries as an argument of his bad faith.

<sup>9</sup> The king is understood to have yielded to the sophistical reasoning of the bishop of Lincoln, in deserting Strafford; and even his devoted subject, Archbishop Laud, cannot forbear to censure him. He justly remarks, that the king's speech of his determination not to assent to the bill "displeased mightily, and I verily think it hastened the earl's death. And, indeed, to what end should the king

c. 38], May 10; as also to an act "to prevent inconveniences which may happen by the untimely adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving of this present parliament" [c. 7], which provides that neither House shall be adjourned except at their own order, or the parliament dissolved except by act of parliament <sup>b</sup>.

The king sends a letter to the Lords, requesting them to confer with the Commons on some means of sparing the earl's life, May 11; they decline to do so, and he is beheaded on Tower-Hill<sup>c</sup>, May 12.

The pacification with Scotland ratified by parliament [c. 17], and £300,000 secured as "friendly assistance and relief promised to our brethren of Scotland," [c. 18].

A subsidy of tunnage and poundage granted [c. 8].

come voluntarily to say this, and there, unless he would have bided by it, whatever came? And it had been far more regal to reject the bill when it had been brought to him, (his conscience standing so as his Majesty openly professed it did,) than to make this honourable preface, and let the bill pass after."

<sup>b</sup> The reason assigned for this act, which in reality overthrew the royal authority, was, that the large sums of money necessary to be borrowed for the payment of the armies, which it was desired to disband, could not be had "until such obstacles are first removed as are occasioned by fears, jealousies, and apprehensions of divers his Majesty's loyal subjects, that this present parliament may be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved before justice shall be duly executed upon delinquents, public grievances redressed, a firm peace between the two nations of England and Scotland concluded, and before sufficient provision be made for the repayment of the said moneys so to be raised."

<sup>c</sup> As he passed to execution he received the blessing of his fellow-captive, Archbishop Laud, who, in the history of his own Troubles and Trial, thus notices his death: "In their judgment who were men of worth, and some upon, some near the scaffold, he made a patient, and pious, and courageous end; insomuch, that some doubted whether his death had more of the Roman or the Christian in it, it was so full of both. And, notwithstanding this hard fate which fell upon him, he is dead with more honour than any of them will gain which hunted after his life."

This grant was but from May 25 to July 15, 1641<sup>d</sup>, and any officer presuming to levy it after that time was to incur the penalties of *præmunire*, and also be disabled during his life to sue in any court.

A poll-tax is levied for the payment and disbanding of both armies, [c. 9]. Dukes were to pay £100; bishops £60; other ranks less; gentlemen of £100 per annum were taxed at £5; freemen of companies, 1s.; and meaner persons, 6d.; Romish recusants were assessed in double rates.

The bishop of Norwich (Matthew Wren) is committed to the Tower, on the complaint of the Commons, July 5.

Five of the judges who had argued in favour of ship-money (Bramston, Crawley, Davenport, Trevor, and Weston) are imprisoned; an act is passed whereby all their proceedings in the matter are declared void, and all records and processes concerning the same made void and cancelled [c. 14].

An act passed "for regulating the Privy Council, and for taking away the court commonly called the Star-chamber," [c. 10]. This act asserts that all matters heretofore examined in the Star-chamber are cognizable by the common law, affirms that the king and his council have no jurisdiction, power, or authority over any man's estate<sup>e</sup>, and forbids the attempt to exercise such by any

<sup>d</sup> The grant was continued, by six subsequent acts [cc. 12, 22, 25, 29, 31, 36], to July 2, 1642; the purpose evidently being to extort concessions as the price of each renewal.

<sup>e</sup> As a consequence of this, the court of the president and council of Wales, the council of the North, and the palatine courts of Lancaster and Chester, were abolished, the first two entirely, the others only so far as they had imitated the arbitrary jurisdiction of the Star-chamber.

officer whatever, on pain of £500 penalty for the first offence, £1,000 for the second, and disability to hold office, or to make or receive any gift, grant, or conveyance of lands, &c., for the third.

The High Commission Court abolished, and the erection of any new court with like powers forbidden, [c. 11].

The Stannary and Forest Courts regulated, [cc. 15, 16]. The jurisdiction of the first was confined, under heavy penalties, to causes arising among the tinnerns; and the limits of forests were ordered to be ascertained by commissioners<sup>f</sup>.

Writs to compel the taking of the order of Knight-hood abolished<sup>g</sup>, [c. 20].

An act passed for the relief of captives taken by Turkish, Moorish, and other pirates, [c. 24]. For this purpose an additional duty of 5 per cent. was laid on merchandize for three years; it was to be received by the corporation of London, and laid out by a committee of both Houses in providing for the safeguard of the seas, the neglect of which, by evil ministers, the act states, had occasioned many to be taken captives, who, being used with extreme cruelty, had become renegades.

The sum of £61,125 12s. 2d. voted as compensation to Hollis, Selden, Chambers, and others, July 8.

The English and Scottish armies are disbanded on the same day, Aug. 6.

The king goes to Scotland early in August, being accompanied by Lord Howard of Eskrick, Sir Philip

<sup>f</sup> At the same time the Earl Marshal's Court was voted a grievance, and abolished, without the passing of any statute.

<sup>g</sup> See p. 386.

Stapleton and Mr. Hampden, who keep up the intercourse between the malcontents in both kingdoms.

The Commons impeach thirteen of the bishops for their share in the canons of 1640<sup>h</sup>, Aug. 13.

The Scottish parliament assembles, Aug. 17; all the recent proceedings against the bishops are confirmed by the king, and a portion of their revenues appropriated to the various universities. The king gives new titles and important offices to the chief actors in the late troubles<sup>i</sup>.

The parliament adjourns, Sept. 8, but both Houses appoint committees to sit during the recess.

The committee of the Peers consisted of the earl of Essex (whom the king had lately appointed general of his forces south of Trent, with extensive powers,) and fifteen others; they shewed little activity, confining themselves to merely formal correspondence with the officers charged with the disbanding of the armies. The committee of the Commons acted very differently; they were fifty in number, and had for their chairman Mr. Pym, under whose direction they became in effect the rulers of the nation. They carried on inquiries regarding those whom the House had voted delinquents; listened to every information, whether well or ill-founded, which might discredit the king and his ministers, and issued orders on all kinds of subjects, and merely on their own authority. But, as might be expected, their chief efforts were directed to overthrow the constitution of

<sup>h</sup> See p. 402.

<sup>i</sup> Lesley, the general, was made earl of Leven; lord Loudoun (formerly imprisoned for corresponding with the French king), an earl; the earl of Argyle was created a marquis.

the Church, which Archbishop Laud had so zealously laboured to uphold; they thrust their own partisans into vacant livings, practised every kind of annoyance and injury to the clergy, suspended the performance of the Liturgy, and encouraged in the populace a contempt for holy places and things, which soon resulted in the most grievous profanation of churches and tombs, and in the open promulgation of the impious opinions of the Anabaptists and Socinians.

## IRELAND.

A.D. 1641. A formidable insurrection breaks out in the north of Ireland, Oct. 23.

The success of the Scots in their recent contest inspired the Romanists of Ireland with a hope of obtaining in like manner a redress of many grievances, under which they had long laboured, and regarding which they had just reason to complain of the bad faith of the king and his advisers<sup>j</sup>. Their time-honoured customs of tanistry and gavelkind<sup>k</sup> had been declared illegal by the courts; whole counties had been claimed as belonging to the crown, on the most iniquitous pretexts<sup>l</sup>; the property of their oldest and wealthiest

<sup>j</sup> In 1628 the king had, for a large sum of money (£120,000), agreed to a series of Graces, as they were termed, by which, among other things, the oath of supremacy was dispensed with, recusants were allowed to practise in the courts of law, and a promise was given that claims by the crown to concealed property should be limited to sixty years; these concessions were to be ratified by a parliament, but by the dishonest management of Wentworth this was defeated, although the money had been paid.

<sup>k</sup> See vol. i. pp. 251, 252.

Wentworth, in his letters, avows his opinion that Ireland was a conquered country, and that therefore its inhabitants had neither rights nor property except by express grant from the crown. Acting

families had been thus greatly diminished, and what remained to them was manifestly insecure. Added to this, the vehement language of the Puritan party, which had now gained so fatal an ascendancy in England, filled them with fears of a settled design to extirpate their religion; and, whilst they were excluded from offices of honour or profit, they saw the humble dependants of the "undertakers" for the new plantations sitting in parliament, or acting as magistrates. The iron rule of Wentworth prevented more than murmurs and secret confederacies, but now that he was no more, and the king's authority was in reality extinct, the energy and eloquence of one man sufficed to determine them on an appeal to arms.

This was Roger More, a gentleman of Kildare, whose family estate had been reduced to one-tenth of its original size by the aggressions of the English planters. He procured the co-operation of Sir Phelim O'Neal<sup>m</sup> (a kinsman of the attainted earl of Tyrone), of Lord Inniskillen (Cornelius McGuire), and many other native Irish

on this, he claimed the whole province of Connaught, as given by Henry III. to Richard de Burgh, and reannexed to the crown by De Burgh's descendant, Edward IV. A jury at Galway returned a verdict that the grant in question was only of certain royalties, not of the fee-simple of the land; they were heavily fined and imprisoned, and the freeholders were intimidated into the surrender of from one-third to one-half of their lands, upon which it was proposed to found new English plantations. These grievances fell heavily upon the whole body of Romanists, while at the same time the Protestant settlers were harassed by inquiries into the mode in which they had fulfilled the conditions of their grants, and rendered almost as discontented as the native Irish.

<sup>m</sup> He had studied the law in Lincoln's Inn, and professed Protestantism; but he now avowed himself a Romanist. After a variety of fortune he was captured by the republicans and executed, in 1652.



chieftains, and expecting at least the neutrality of the Anglo-Irish lords of the Pale, he planned a surprise of Dublin Castle and a general rising in Ulster, both to be attempted on the same day, October 23, 1641.

The attempt on Dublin miscarried, owing to a premature disclosure of the plot to one Owen Conolly, who carried the news to the lords justices, but the rising in Ulster was at first successful; the open country was ravaged, most of the newly-founded towns captured, and the unhappy settlers either killed on the spot, or driven to take refuge in Dublin, where famine and sickness made awful ravages among them.

The lords justices sent urgent messages for succour, both to the king in Scotland and to the English parliament; fortified Dublin, and endeavoured to induce the Anglo-Irish to take the field against the insurgents; but this few of them would do; though opposed in other matters, they were united to O'Neal by community of faith, and the threats of the Puritans. Some troops, however, arrived from England, the natives were worsted in many encounters, and horrible cruelties were committed on both sides<sup>a</sup>. The marquis of Ormond laboured zealously to preserve the semblance of the royal authority, but in this he was opposed as much by the troops of the parliament as by those of the confederate Catholics;

<sup>a</sup> In Rushworth (vol. iii.) may be seen a long list of butcheries said to have been committed by the Romanists on the Protestants, grounded on inquisitions taken some years after; but it is remarkable that the lords justices, writing at the very time, make no mention of any such general massacre of the Protestants (amounting to 200,000 according to some writers, to 40,000 or 50,000 according to others,) as is usually said to have occurred. The contest was doubtless embittered by the difference of creeds, but it unquestionably arose rather from political than purely religious causes: the Romanists armed to preserve their estates.

with the latter he at length concluded an armistice, (Sept. 15, 1643), the king, though doubtless in no way connected with the original rising, as his enemies asserted, having before this negotiated with the Irish for their help against his parliament<sup>o</sup>. On the ruin of the royal cause in England, Ormond was obliged to make a treaty with the parliament (June 19, 1647) and withdraw to the continent. The Assembly of Kilkenny refused to be bound by the stipulations that he had made, and the triumphant republicans carried on the war until they had effected more than any of the English kings had ever done, and by the complete conquest of the island were enabled to portion it out by the sword among their adherents.

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A.D. 1641. The parliament reassembles, Oct. 20; they receive information of the events in Ireland, Oct. 25; the king commits the conduct of the war to them.

The king fills up several vacant bishoprics<sup>p</sup>, on which the Commons remonstrate, but fail to procure the concurrence of the Peers.

The king returns to England; he is entertained by the citizens of London, with great apparent cordiality, Nov. 25. He removes the next day to Hampton Court, and shortly after revokes the commission of the earl of Essex.

<sup>o</sup> His agent was Lord Glamorgan (Edward Somerset, afterwards marquis of Worcester), who was empowered to treat with them without the knowledge of Ormond, the lord-lieutenant. Charles was so disingenuous as to disavow him, and declare that he had exceeded his instructions; but the original documents remain, and they prove that such was not the case.

<sup>p</sup> Bristol, Carlisle, Chichester, Exeter, Norwich, Salisbury, Worcester, and York.

The Commons draw up a vehement Remonstrance, which they present to the king<sup>a</sup>, Dec. 1.

The king returns to Whitehall, early in December; many gentlemen offer their services as a body-guard<sup>r</sup>, between whom and the populace skirmishes daily take place.

The bishops, being daily assaulted on their way to the parliament, at length draw up, at the recommendation of Williams, archbishop of York, a protest against "all laws, orders, votes, resolutions, and determinations" passed during their "enforced absence," Dec. 28.

The protest is communicated to the parliament, Dec. 29, and on the complaint of the Commons, the signers, twelve in number, are committed to the Tower<sup>s</sup>, Dec. 30.

<sup>a</sup> It consisted of no less than 206 articles, and dwelt with bitterness on every harsh or illegal act that had been committed by the government from the period of the king's accession. It was printed, and widely distributed, and had a most baneful effect on the people, who crowded daily to the parliament-house, attacked the bishops, and menaced the court.

<sup>r</sup> They were commanded by Colonel Lunsford, a Romanist and a man of bad character: the appellations Cavaliers and Roundheads arose from these conflicts. The king named Lunsford governor of the Tower, Dec. 23, but revoked the appointment three days after.

<sup>s</sup> They were, John Williams, archbishop of York; Thomas Morton, George Coke, and Godfrey Goodman, bishops of Durham, Hereford, and Gloucester; Joseph Hall, John and Morgan Owen, of Norwich, St. Asaph, and Llandaff; William Pierce, Robert Skinner, and John Towers, of Bath and Wells, Oxford, and Peterborough; Matthew Wren and Robert Wright, of Ely, and Coventry and Lichfield. "We poor souls," says one of their number, Bishop Hall, in his "Hard Measure," "who little thought that we had done anything that might deserve a chiding, are now called to our knees at the bar, and charged severally with high treason, being not a little astonished at the suddenness of this crimination, compared with the perfect innocency of our own intentions, which were only to bring us to our due places in parliament with safety and speed, without the least purpose of any man's offence; but now traitors we are in all the haste, and must be dealt with accordingly. For on January 30, in all the extremity of frost, at eight o'clock in the dark evening,

The Commons apply to the king for a guard, under the command of the earl of Essex, Dec. 31; the king refuses.

A.D. 1642. The attorney-general (Sir Edward Herbert), by order of the king, exhibits articles of treason in the House of Lords against Lord Kimbolton and five members of the Commons<sup>t</sup>, Jan. 3, and demands that they be delivered up. Meanwhile the Commons pass a vote empowering their members to stand on their defence against any arrest; the parties retire into the city, under the protection of the trained hands, but their lodgings are searched, and their papers seized.

The king comes to the House, attended by a large guard, and demands the delivery of the members, Jan. 4. "At his unexpected coming into the House," says Whitelock, "they were in a very great amazement, but upon his going away, and so as he might hear them, the House was in a great disorder, crying aloud, many of them together, 'Privilege! privilege!'"

The Commons vote the king's coming "in a warlike manner" a high breach of privilege, declare the order for the apprehension of the five members "false, scan-

are we voted to the Tower; only two of our number had the favour of the black rod by reason of their age, which though desired by a noble lord on my behalf, would not be granted; wherein I acknowledge and bless the gracious providence of my God, for had I been gratified I had been undone both in body and purse; the rooms being strait, and the expense beyond the reach of my estate."

<sup>t</sup> Lord Kimbolton (Edward Montagu) became earl of Manchester, and a general of the parliamentary army, but was displaced by the Self-denying Ordinance. The commoners were, John Hampden, the opponent of ship money; Pym, the leader of the proceedings against Strafford; Sir Arthur Hasilrigge, afterwards a regicide, and who died in the Tower in 1661; Denzil Holles, afterwards earl of Clare; and William Strode, son of one of the members imprisoned in 1629.

dalous, and illegal," assert that they cannot safely sit without a guard, which the king has refused them, and adjourn the House, Jan. 5, appointing committees <sup>u</sup> to sit in the city.

The king goes into the city, Jan. 5, and explains his proceedings and intentions regarding the five members <sup>v</sup>.

The parliamentary committee collects evidence as to the king's coming to the House, Jan. 6, 7; the citizens petition the king, complaining of neglect of the affairs of Ireland, and also of his attempt to seize the members, Jan. 7.

The king issues a fresh proclamation to arrest the members, Jan. 8; the parliamentary committee arranges for protecting them in their return to the House.

The king, alarmed at the preparations in the city, retires to Hampton Court, Jan. 10, and removes on Jan. 12 to Windsor.

The parliament reassembles, Jan. 11; the five members are brought back in triumph, attended by an armed force both by land and water <sup>x</sup>.

Lord Digby, Colonel Lunsford, and others, appear in arms for the king at Kingston, Jan. 12; the parliament votes them traitors. Lunsford is captured and committed to the Tower, but Digby escapes to the continent.

<sup>u</sup> One was charged with the affairs of Ireland; the other was to concert measures for the safety of the accused members. The first sat in the Guildhall, the other occupied sometimes Grocers'-hall, sometimes Merchant Taylors'-hall.

<sup>v</sup> He was received with sullen silence, the only exception being that one man (Henry Walker, an ironmonger) raised the ominous cry, "To your tents, O Israel!"

<sup>x</sup> Skippon, the sergeant-major-general of the London trained bands, was the commander.

A large body of Buckinghamshire freeholders repair to the king at Hampton Court, and complain of the accusation against their member (John Hampden), Jan. 12; the king informs them that he has abandoned the charges.

The Commons by vote secure possession of the Tower, Portsmouth, and Hull<sup>y</sup>, Jan. 12, impeach the attorney-general<sup>z</sup>, Jan. 15; and draw up a declaration of their privileges, Jan. 17.

The king sends a message, Jan. 20, desiring the parliament to digest all their demands and grievances into one body, and promising his favourable consideration of whatever they may propose.

The Commons express their thanks (Jan. 26), but desire, "as a sure ground of safety and confidence," that the king will place the militia in the hands of such persons only as they shall recommend to him; the king declines to comply.

An act passed to disable persons in holy orders to exercise any temporal jurisdiction or authority, [16 Car. I. c. 27]. They were not to have place in parliament, or in the privy council, neither were they to act as jus-

<sup>y</sup> There was an idea that the king had received the promise of a force from France, which was to land at Portsmouth. Goring, the governor, attempted to hold the town, but was driven out by the earl of Essex. The Tower had a large quantity of stores, which the king had endeavoured to remove, but which was now prevented by a blockade, under Skippon; and in Hull was 16,000 stand of arms, placed there on the recent disbandment. Through the activity of Sir John Hotham, the king was prevented from entering Hull, and an attempt to besiege that town was the first operation of the unhappy civil war.

<sup>z</sup> He escaped to the king, went abroad on the ruin of the royal cause, and received the nominal office of lord-keeper from Charles II. in 1653; he was soon displaced by Hyde, and died in poverty at Paris in 1657.

tices of the peace, or to execute any commission under the crown; any such acts done by them were to be void<sup>a</sup>.

Several statutes were passed for "the speedy and effectual reducing of the rebels in His Majesty's kingdom of Ireland." A body of soldiers was ordered to be pressed [c. 28], and contributions were solicited [c. 30]; but these being uncertain, a levy of £400,000 was decreed, to be paid into the chambers of London and York [c. 32]; beside which, as "divers worthy and well-affected persons had perceived that many millions of acres of the rebels' lands of that kingdom which go under the name of profitable lands would be confiscate and to be disposed of," 2,500,000 acres were at once offered to persons who would adventure money<sup>b</sup>; the sums were to be paid into the Chamber of London, in four instalments, and corporations were allowed to subscribe, [cc. 33, 34, 35]. Very large sums were thus raised, but they were mainly applied to the purposes of the parliament in England, and the settlers in Ireland were left almost entirely to their own resources.

The queen passes over to Holland<sup>c</sup>, where she sells or pawns the crown jewels, and buys arms and military stores for the king, February.

<sup>a</sup> The king was with much difficulty induced to give his consent to this act, and its repeal was one of the earliest measures at the Restoration, [13 Car. II. c. 2].

<sup>b</sup> They were divided into lots of 1,000 acres each, "all according to the English measure, and consisting of meadow, arable, and profitable pasture; the bogs, woods, and barren mountains being cast in over and above." The sum paid was different for each province. In Ulster the price was £200; in Connaught £300; in Munster £450; in Leinster £600.

<sup>c</sup> The pretext for this journey was the marriage of her daughter Mary to William, prince of Orange, the Stadtholder.

The king retires to Theobalds, Feb. 28; the parliament again desire the control of the militia<sup>d</sup>, and beg that he will not withdraw from London, March 1; he declines compliance<sup>e</sup>.

The parliament direct the earl of Northumberland, lord high admiral, to take the command of the fleet<sup>f</sup>, in order to prevent the landing of supplies from the queen<sup>g</sup>.

The earls of Pembroke and Holland, and some members of the Commons, are sent to the king at Newmarket, March 9, to remonstrate on his proceedings; an angry conference ensues<sup>h</sup>. On their return the Houses vote that the king's absence is fatal to the affairs of Ireland, and that those who have advised it are justly to be suspected as favourers of the rebellion there.

The parliament vote that their ordinance for the defence of the kingdom is to be obeyed, and that the

<sup>d</sup> Though styled a petition, their communication was more like a threat, as they told the king that if he should not be pleased to follow their humble advice, they should be constrained, to prevent future fears and jealousies, to settle that necessary business of the militia without him. They acted up to this by ordinances, Feb. 26, and March 5, 1642, which appointed fifty-five persons commissioners of array, with power to suppress "all insurrections, rebellions, and invasions."

<sup>e</sup> The king journeyed on, by easy stages, to York: he reached Royston, March 3; Newmarket, 7; Huntingdon, 14; Stamford, 15; Newark, 17; Doncaster, 18; York, 19. While at Huntingdon he visited the remarkable establishment of the Ferrars at Little Gidding. See Notes and Illustrations.

<sup>f</sup> The earl of Warwick was his lieutenant; the king sent Sir John Pennington to obtain possession of the fleet, but he failed.

<sup>g</sup> A ship-load of stores sent by her was captured, but several vessels arrived safely, and an ordinance was passed Dec. 10, 1642, for fitting out a fleet of cruisers.

<sup>h</sup> To a charge of consenting to Jermyn's design of bringing in the army to coerce the parliament (see p. 408), the king answered, "It is false;" and, when taxed with the treason of Captain Legg, "That's a lie."



king's commissions of lieutenancy are illegal and void, April 15.

The king sends a message to the parliament from Huntingdon, offering to proceed to Ireland, and informing them that he has prepared a bill concerning the militia; they return no answer.

The king is refused entrance into Hull, by Sir John Hotham, April 23; he complains to the parliament, but they justify Hotham, and remove the arms and stores to London.

The king and the parliament exchange their bills about the militia, but no agreement can be effected.

The parliament direct their ordinance for the militia to be carried out<sup>1</sup>, May 5; the king denounces it as illegal, and summons the gentry of York to form a guard for the protection of his person.

The parliament vote this treason, and order all sheriffs and others to oppose it, May 28.

The king in return declares the ordinance for the militia treasonable, and summons the people of Yorkshire to repair to him; the parliament forbid them to do so.

Lord Falkland, (Lucius Cary,) Mr. Hyde<sup>k</sup>, and several

<sup>1</sup> In pursuance of this, the parliament mustered six regiments of the London trained bands, under Skippon, in Finsbury-fields, May 10; on hearing of it, the king assembled a troop of horse, and one regiment of foot; the horsemen were gentry who served at their own charge, but the foot were paid weekly by the king.

<sup>k</sup> They had before held correspondence clandestinely with him. Lord Falkland became secretary of state, and was killed at Newbury; Mr. Hyde was made chancellor of the exchequer.

Edward Hyde was born in Wiltshire in 1608, and was educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford. On the decline of the royal cause he found shelter in Jersey for awhile, and was a valued adherent of Charles II. in exile. At the Restoration he was made lord chancellor, and earl of Clarendon, but soon became unpopular, being accused of corruption; a charge to which the sale of Dunkirk, and his own mag-

other moderate members of the parliament, withdraw, and repair to the king. In consequence, all the members are ordered to attend the Houses, on pain of forfeiting £100 towards the expenses of the Irish war<sup>1</sup>.

The parliament send propositions of peace<sup>m</sup> to the king, June 2; he rejects them.

The lord-keeper, Littleton, sends the great seal to the king, and shortly after leaves the parliament and joins him, early in June.

The king makes a solemn declaration before his peers and councillors at York of his intention to exercise a legal government, June 13; the assembly in general signify their adhesion to him.

The king invites his people to supply him with money, horses, and arms, pledging his parks and forests for their repayment.

nificent style of living, gave probability. He was in 1667 deprived of office, and banished by act of parliament, [19 & 20 Car. II. c. 2]; he passed through France to Montpellier, and then back to Rouen, where he died, Dec. 9, 1674. His daughter Anne became the wife of the duke of York, and the mother of two queens. Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, and his Life, though in some places partial and in others inaccurate, are indispensable to the historical student.

<sup>1</sup> Many of the absentees were by another vote deprived of their seats.

<sup>m</sup> They were nineteen in number. They desired that the king's council should not consist of less than fifteen, or more than twenty-four members; that these and the great officers of state should be subject to the approval of parliament; that an oath should be taken by them for the maintenance of the Petition of Right; that the education and marriages of the royal family should be subject to the consent of parliament; the militia and the castles of the kingdom placed in their hands; delinquents left to justice; the laws against Romanists executed, and Romish peers excluded from parliament, firm alliance made only with Protestant states; reparation made to any who had been deprived of office, or prosecuted (as the earl of Essex, Lord Kimbolton, the five members, &c.), and a general pardon granted, with such exceptions only as the Houses might require.

The king visits Lincoln and Nottingham, in July, and makes a similar declaration to that at York.

The earl of Leicester (Robert Sydney) is appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, June 14 ; he does not go there, and the office is bestowed (Nov. 13) on the marquis of Ormond<sup>a</sup>.

The Houses vote that an army shall be raised "for the defence of the king and parliament," appointing the earl of Essex captain-general<sup>o</sup>, and the earl of Bedford (William Russell) general of the horse, July 12.

The king proclaims Essex and his officers guilty of treason, (Aug. 2,) and orders the marquis of Hertford, (William Seymour,) his lieutenant-general, to march against them.

The parliament vote the king's commissioners of array to be traitors, Aug. 9.

The king sets up his standard at Nottingham, Monday, August 22.

The king sends propositions of accommodation to the parliament, Aug. 25 ; they decline to entertain them, while his standard continues spread, and they are de-

<sup>a</sup> James Butler, successively earl, marquis, and duke of Ormond, was born in London in 1610, and was educated by Archbishop Abbot. He is favourably known for his honest and able government of Ireland, of which country he was four times lord-lieutenant ; namely, from 1642 to 1647 ; 1648 to 1650 ; 1662 to 1669 ; and 1677 to 1680. He passed several years in poverty with the exiled king, and on the Restoration experienced little gratitude from him for all his sufferings and losses. Ormond did not long survive his last recall from his post, dying July 21, 1688.

<sup>o</sup> Robert Devereux, son of the favourite of Elizabeth. He had served in the Low Countries, and was esteemed a good general. A committee was, however, associated with him, "to take subscriptions of loans, and order matters concerning malignants, and consider of the good of the army." He was displaced on the remodeling of the army, and died in 1646.

nounced as traitors. He sends a fresh message (Sept. 3), offering to recal his proclamation against Essex and others, if they will do the same; they vote a reply, "that the arms of the parliament for religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom, shall not be laid down till delinquents be left to justice, that their estates may discharge the debts of the commonwealth."

Portsmouth surrendered to the parliament by Colonel Goring, Sept. 9.

Sir John Hotham sallies from Hull, and obliges the king's forces under the earl of Lindsay (Robert Bertie) to withdraw.

The king collects a considerable force, and makes his head-quarters at Shrewsbury<sup>p</sup> Sept. 20; the parliamentary forces march towards him, under the command of the earl of Essex.

The parliament send Walter Strickland as their resident to Holland, to induce the States to prohibit assistance being given to the king.

The king marches from Shrewsbury towards London, when the parliament order the city to be fortified<sup>q</sup>.

Essex garrisons Northampton and other towns, and recovers Worcester from Prince Rupert<sup>r</sup>. He then fol-

<sup>p</sup> The day before he mustered his forces at Wellington, and made a solemn protestation of his intention to respect the rights and liberties of his people, and to abide by the various laws to which he had recently consented.

<sup>q</sup> "It was wonderful," says Whitelock, "to see how the women and children and vast numbers of people would come to work, about digging and carrying of earth, to make their new fortifications."

<sup>r</sup> The prince had seized the city shortly before, and on Sept. 25 defeated a strong party of the parliamentary horse, under Colonel Sandys, who was mortally wounded.

Prince Rupert, born in 1619, was nephew of the king, and a man of distinguished talent and bravery. His conduct, however, was rash and overbearing, and having surrendered Bristol too readily, he was

lows the king's army, and overtaking it at Edgehill, (near Kineton, in Warwickshire,) a bloody, but indecisive, battle, is fought there, Sunday, Oct. 23. The king moves to Oxford, of which he takes possession, Oct. 26; Essex returns to London, Nov. 7, and receives a gratuity of £5,000 from the parliament<sup>s</sup>.

The parliament invite the assistance of the Scots; their application is favourably received.

A General Assembly meets at Kilkenny, Oct. 24. It invites partisans, makes a seal, levies money for the support of an army, orders an oath of association to be taken, and commits the government to a Supreme Council of 24, of which Viscount Mountgarret is the president<sup>t</sup>.

The civil war had now commenced in earnest. In Wales, Cornwall, and Yorkshire, the king had strong bodies of troops; he himself possessed Oxford, and Prince Rupert kept the whole country between that city and London in constant alarm<sup>u</sup>. The king resolved

desired to leave the kingdom. In 1648 he commanded a part of the revolted fleet, but was chased from sea to sea by Blake, and escaping his pursuit lived in retirement until the Restoration. He returned with Charles II., again served at sea, and died Nov. 29, 1682. His elder brother Charles Louis associated himself with the parliamentarians, but his younger brother Maurice served the king, and accompanying Rupert in his cruises, perished at sea in 1650.

<sup>s</sup> The widows, orphans, and wounded of their party received a solemn promise of relief, Oct. 25, and on March 6, 1643, an ordinance was made for an assessment on each parish for their support.

<sup>t</sup> On Nov. 15 it was determined to appoint agents "to be employed to his majesty, hereby to inform his majesty's highness of the motives and causes of raising this holy war, and other the grievances of this kingdom at this present."

<sup>u</sup> A regiment of his horse was quartered at Fawley Court, the property of Whitelock, whose description of their proceedings may give some idea of the miserable state of the land, when such or worse outrages were perpetrated by both parties in every quarter:—

"Sir John Biron and his brother," he says, "commanded those horse, and gave order that they should commit no insolence at my

to march on London, when proposals of peace were sent to him, and conferences appointed to be held at Windsor, (Nov. 11,) but he still advanced, possessed himself, after a sharp fight, of Brentford<sup>v</sup>, Nov. 12, and on the following day came to Turnham-green, but was there faced by Essex<sup>w</sup>, and, without fighting, retired to Colnbrook,

house, nor plunder my goods ; but soldiers are not easily governed against their plunder, or persuaded to restrain it ; for there being about 1,000 of the king's horse quartered in and about the house, and none but servants there, there was no insolence or outrage usually committed by common soldiers on a reputed enemy which was omitted by these brutish fellows at my house. . . . They spent and consumed 100 load of corn and hay, littered their horses with sheaves of good wheat, and gave them all sorts of corn in the straw ; divers writings of consequence, and books which were left in my study, some of them they tore in pieces, others they burnt to light their tobacco, and some they carried away with them, to my extreme great loss and prejudice in wanting the writings of my estate, and losing very many excellent manuscripts of my father's and others, and some of my own labours.

"They broke down my park pales, killed most of my deer, though rascal and carrion, and let out all the rest, only a tame young stag they carried away and presented to Prince Rupert, and my hounds, which were extraordinary good. They ate and drank up all that the house could afford ; broke up all my trunks, chests, and places ; and where they found linen, or any household stuff, they took it away with them, and cutting the beds, let out the feathers, and took away the ticks. They likewise carried away my coach, and four good horses, and all my saddle horses, and did all the mischief and spoil that malice and enmity could provoke barbarous mercenaries to commit, and so they parted.

"This," he concludes, "is remembered only to raise a constant hatred of anything that may in the least tend to the fomenting of such unhappiness and misery."

<sup>v</sup> Among other prisoners taken there was John Lilburne (see p. 397), who conducted himself so violently to Prince Rupert and others, that the prince threatened to put him to death, but was deterred by an intimation of reprisal from the earl of Essex.

<sup>w</sup> "The city bands marched forth very cheerfully under the command of Major-general Skippon, who made short and encouraging speeches to his soldiers, which were to this purpose: 'Come, my boys, my brave boys, let us pray heartily and fight heartily ; I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you. Remember the cause is for God, and for the defence of yourselves, your wives, and children. Come, my honest brave boys, pray heartily and fight heartily, and God will bless us.'" Whitelock, who was present, further says, "The city good wives, and others, mindful of their husbands and friends, sent many cart-loads of provisions, and wines, and good

whence he retreated through Reading to Oxford, arriving there Nov. 29.

A tax of one-twentieth of every one's estate ordained by the parliament for the support of the war, Dec. 13.

The eastern counties<sup>x</sup> associate against the king, under the command of Lord Grey of Warke.

Goring lands in Yorkshire with supplies from Holland, and the war is carried on fiercely between the earl of Newcastle<sup>y</sup> and Lord Fairfax<sup>z</sup>.

A.D. 1643. A negotiation for peace is carried on at Oxford<sup>a</sup>, at intervals, from Jan. 30 to April 15, but without any result.

The king establishes a mint in New Inn Hall, Oxford,

things to Turnham-green, with which the soldiers were refreshed, and made merry; and the more, when they understood that the king and all his army were retreated."

<sup>x</sup> The associated counties, as they were called, were, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincoln, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Hertford. The earl of Manchester (formerly Lord Kimbolton) afterwards commanded their levies, having under him Oliver Cromwell. Their proceedings were regulated by an ordinance, Jan. 16, 1643.

<sup>y</sup> William Cavendish. He was soon after created a marquis, but at length, disgusted by the roughness of Prince Rupert, he suddenly abandoned the contest, after the battle of Marston-moor, and withdrew to the continent. He returned with Charles II., was made duke of Newcastle, and died Dec. 25, 1676.

<sup>z</sup> Lord Fairfax was assisted by his son Thomas, who became the chief commander of the parliamentary army when new modelled. Thomas was born in 1611, was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and had served in the Netherlands under Lord Vere. Being a rigid Presbyterian, he resigned his command in preference to leading the army against the Scots, and lived in retirement until 1660, when he actively exerted himself to forward the restoration of Charles II. He died Nov. 12, 1671.

<sup>a</sup> Whitelock was one of the commissioners, and he gives this testimony as to the king's abilities: "In this treaty the king manifested his great parts and abilities, strength of reason, and quickness of apprehension, with much patience in hearing what was objected against him; wherein he allowed all freedom, and would himself sum up the arguments, and gave a most clear judgment upon them. His unhappiness was, that he had a better opinion of others' judgments than of his own, though they were weaker than his own; and of this we had experience, to our great trouble."

where the plate of the colleges is coined for his use <sup>b</sup>. The exchequer is also settled at Oxford, Feb. 13.

The queen lands at Burlington with supplies <sup>c</sup>, Feb. 22, but is unable to join the king until July 13.

The earl of Essex takes Reading, April 27, and Sir William Waller <sup>d</sup> is successful in the west.

The Cornish men take arms for the king. They defeat the earl of Stamford (Henry Grey) at Stratton, May 16, and advance into Somersetshire.

<sup>b</sup> This mint continued in operation until 1646. One remarkable



Oxford Siege Piece.

coin struck there (a crown-piece, of the type styled Exurgat money) is represented above.

<sup>c</sup> The Commons in consequence proposed an impeachment against her (May 22), but the Peers declined to entertain it.

<sup>d</sup> He was born in 1597, of a good Kentish family, was educated at Oxford, and had served with great reputation in the German war. On his return to England he was, through family quarrels, fined in the Star Chamber, and, becoming a member of the Long Parliament, he was one of the earliest to take up arms. Waller was considered the rival of Essex, but was, like him, removed from the army by the Self-denying Ordinance; as a leader among the Presbyterians, he opposed the designs of the Independents, was impeached by them and imprisoned, in 1648. He was again imprisoned as a royalist after the death of Cromwell, but was soon released, and sat in the parliament that recalled Charles II. He died Sept. 19, 1668.



A plan to disarm the militia of London, and let in the king's forces, is detected and punished<sup>e</sup>, June, July.

Colonel Hampden is mortally wounded in a skirmish at Chalgrove, near Oxford, June 18; he died June 24.

Sir William Waller is defeated at Lansdown (near Bath<sup>f</sup>), July 5, and at Devizes, July 13. Bristol is surrendered to Prince Rupert, July 27.

London is fortified by order of the parliament.

Commissioners from the Scottish parliament arrive in London<sup>g</sup>.

The king forms the siege of Gloucester, Aug. 10; it is relieved by Essex, Sept. 6.

Essex retires towards London; he is followed by the king, and attacked at Newbury, Sept. 20, but beats off the assailants<sup>h</sup>.

The Scottish Covenant, with some modifications<sup>i</sup>, is

<sup>e</sup> Edmund Waller, the poet, who had been one of the commissioners at Oxford, was the principal contriver, but he had the baseness to betray his confederates, and thus saved his own life, being allowed to go into exile.

<sup>f</sup> Sir Bevil Grenville, the commander of the Cornish troops, was killed here.

<sup>g</sup> Lord Maitland (afterwards earl of Lauderdale) was the principal.

<sup>h</sup> The earls of Carnarvon and Sunderland, (Robert Dormer and Henry Spenser,) and Lord Falkland, fell in this battle. Essex's horse was totally routed, but his foot, principally composed of the London trained bands, stood firm, and enabled him to retire without the loss of a single gun.

<sup>i</sup> This celebrated document, which now received the title of the Solemn League and Covenant, differs in many respects from that of 1638 (see p. 400). It consists of six articles, by which the subscribers bind themselves to endeavour the preservation of the reformed Church in Scotland, and the reformation of religion in England and Ireland, "in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches;" to extirpate "popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness;" to preserve the liberties of parliament and the king's person and authority; to

solemnly received by the parliament at the assembly of divines<sup>j</sup>, Sept. 25.

The parliament make a new great seal, in lieu of the original, which is in the king's hands<sup>k</sup>, October.

The marquis of Newcastle defeats Lord Fairfax at Adwalton-moor, near Bradford, and penetrates into Lincolnshire, when his troops refuse to march further south.

Sir John Hotham and his son are committed to the Tower, on a charge of deserting the cause of the parliament<sup>l</sup>.

The merchant adventurers lend £60,000 to the parliament, when fresh privileges are granted to them by an ordinance.

The marquis of Ormond agrees to a cessation of arms with the Irish, Sept. 15 ; many of them in consequence come into England to the assistance of the king, November.

Sir Henry Vane and four others appointed commissioners to the Scottish parliament.

The earl of Warwick is appointed governor and

discover and punish all "incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments ;" to preserve "a blessed peace between these kingdoms ;" and to assist and defend all who enter into the covenant ; "all which," say they, "we shall do as in the sight of God."

<sup>j</sup> This body, which consisted of 120 divines, with 30 lay assessors, was constituted by an ordinance, June 12, 1643. It could only debate on matters submitted to it by the parliament. Milton and other cotemporaries speak in very disparaging terms of both the learning and integrity of these divines, who were the paid servants of the Houses ; (their allowance was 4s. a-day ;) and who, though fierce declaimers against pluralities and non-residence, sought eagerly for every valuable preferment.

<sup>k</sup> See p. 424. They placed it in the keeping of two lords and four commoners.

<sup>l</sup> They were found guilty, and were executed early in 1645.

admiral of the American plantations, by ordinance, Nov. 2.

The duke of Hamilton<sup>m</sup> repairs to the king, at Oxford, but is considered as a traitor, and confined in Pendennis Castle, in Cornwall.

The isle of Jersey is occupied by the king's forces.

A.D. 1644. The Scots enter England to assist the parliament, in January. They attempt to take Newcastle, but fail; they then possess themselves of Sunderland, where the marquis of Newcastle blockades them<sup>n</sup>.

A parliament summoned by the king, meets at Oxford, Jan. 22, and sits till April. They endeavour to raise contributions, impose an excise, write to the earl of Essex to treat for peace with "those by whom he is employed," and at length declare the parliament sitting at Westminster traitors.

Lord Fairfax defeats the king's Irish troops at Nantwich<sup>o</sup>, Jan. 25, and then marches to relieve the Scots; the combined armies soon after besiege York.

<sup>m</sup> He had but recently received this title, April 12, 1643.

<sup>n</sup> They were 21,500 strong, and were commanded by Lesley, earl of Leven. Their apparent inactivity was displeasing to their allies, and, though various sums were at different times voted on their application, it was not till Feb. 28, 1645, that an ordinance was made, granting an assessment of £21,000 monthly for their support.

<sup>o</sup> Among the prisoners taken was George Monk, the future restorer of royalty. He was born of a good Devonshire family, in 1608, and in his 17th year sailed in Lord Wimbledon's expedition against Cadiz. He afterwards joined the English forces in the pay of Holland, but returned to England when the civil war broke out, and served in Ormond's army in Ireland. After an imprisonment of some length he was induced to join the Parliamentarians, and was sent again to Ireland (Nov. 1646), where he acted vigorously against the natives; and next, changing the scene of his employment, commanded the fleet against the Dutch, whom he twice defeated. Monk was then entrusted by Cromwell with the government of Scotland, and the force at his disposal enabled him to secure the return of Charles II. to his kingdoms without any appearance of opposition.

Sir Edward Dering quits the king at Oxford, and submits to the parliament, thus setting the example of compounding for "delinquency."

Archbishop Laud's trial commences, March 12; it is continued by adjournment until November.

Latham House is defended by the countess of Derby against the parliamentary forces from February till May, when it is relieved by Prince Rupert<sup>p</sup>.

The prince elector (Charles Louis, the king's nephew) joins the parliament, and takes the Covenant.

The earl of Essex and Waller advance against Oxford, in April; the king retires to Worcester, but suddenly returning, defeats Waller at Cropredy-bridge (near Banbury), June 29.

Essex marches westward, and penetrates into Cornwall.

Taunton is taken for the parliament by Col. Blake<sup>q</sup>, but is soon after again besieged by the royalists.

Prince Rupert, dispatched to relieve York, is totally

Monk was created duke of Albemarle, received vast grants of Irish forfeited lands, and a large pension; he, however, was not inclined to be idle, and when a new Dutch war broke out, distinguished himself as joint admiral of the fleet with Prince Rupert, and by his personal exertions prevented the landing of the Dutch at Chatham. He here exposed himself so much to danger that a friend advised him to be more cautious, but he only replied, "Sir, if I had feared bullets, I had quitted my trade of a soldier long ago." He died Jan. 3, 1669, and received a pompous funeral in Westminster Abbey.

<sup>p</sup> The countess retired with her children to the Isle of Man. Latham was again besieged, and was captured in December, 1645.

<sup>q</sup> Robert Blake, better known as a naval officer, was born in 1598, educated at Oxford, and sat in the Long Parliament for Bridgewater. After the death of the king Blake was appointed one of the three commanders of the navy, when he chased Prince Rupert from the British seas; afterwards repeatedly defeated the Dutch, chastised the Barbary pirates, and inflicted vast losses on the Spaniards. He died, on shipboard, near Plymouth, Aug. 17, 1657, and was honoured with a public funeral.

defeated at Marston-moor<sup>r</sup>, July 2. York in consequence surrenders, and Newcastle is captured by the Scots, October 29.

The queen, who had taken refuge at Exeter, leaves England, July 14.

The earls of Antrim and Montrose (Randal McDonald and James Graham<sup>s</sup>), and the marquis of Huntley (George Gordon<sup>t</sup>), raise the royal standard in Scotland.

A body of 1,500 Irish land in the west, under Alister McDonald, in July; Montrose joins them, takes the command, defeats Lord Elcho at Tippermuir (near Perth), Sept. 1; sacks Aberdeen, Sept. 12, but is obliged to flee by the approach of the marquis of Argyle (Archibald Campbell<sup>u</sup>), lieutenant of the kingdom.

\* The overthrow was generally attributed to the prince's misconduct, and the marquis of Newcastle and many other active partisans of the king in despair abandoned the contest and retired to the continent.

\* He was born in 1613, when very young travelled much abroad, and returning to England, was, through a treacherous manœuvre of the marquis of Hamilton, so coldly received by the king, that when the troubles in Scotland broke out he was one of the foremost of the Covenanters. He, however, soon penetrated their designs, and, leaving them, became one of the most devoted adherents of the king. In his cause he gained several victories in Scotland in 1644 and 1645, but was defeated at Philiphaugh, Sept. 13, 1645, and in 1646 laid down his arms by the king's command. Montrose returned with a small force while negotiations were pending between Charles II. and the Scots, but they refused to recognise his commission, and having been defeated and captured, he was brought to Edinburgh, and there executed with every circumstance of barbarity and ignominy, May 21, 1650.

\* He was brother-in-law of Argyle, by whom he was speedily defeated; he, however, still adhered to the king, and was at last executed, by order of the Scottish parliament, in 1649.

\* He was born in 1598, and became earl of Argyle in 1638, and marquis, Nov. 15, 1641. He was of a most treacherous, intriguing character, who in turn betrayed and was hated by all parties. Argyle leagued himself with Cromwell, and, coming to London on the

The king marches into the west. Essex suffers himself to be surrounded in Cornwall; he and a few officers escape by sea to Plymouth, and his horse cut their way through, but his foot, under Skippon, are obliged to surrender, Sept. 2; they give up their arms, and are allowed to retire.

A fresh army is collected under Waller and the earl of Manchester<sup>v</sup>; they advance towards Oxford, fight an indecisive battle at Newbury, Oct. 27, and then retire into winter quarters. Great discontent is excited thereby, and a "new model" of the army is proposed<sup>w</sup>.

Commissioners are sent to Oxford, in November; they return with an answer from the king desiring to treat for a peace.

The Commons attain Archbishop Laud, by ordinance, Nov. 13; the Peers, after some delay, consent, Dec. 17.

Sir John Hotham and his son are tried by a court-martial for corresponding with the king, December; they are both executed, Jan. 1, 2, 1645.

A.D. 1645. Archbishop Laud is beheaded, Jan. 10.

Commissioners meet at Uxbridge, Jan. 30, to discuss

Restoration, was at once sent to the Tower. He was soon after remitted to Scotland, where he was condemned and executed as a traitor. He suffered at Edinburgh, May 25, 1661.

<sup>v</sup> Formerly Lord Kimbolton. He was soon after displaced, lived unnoticed under the Commonwealth, and at the Restoration sat in judgment on some of his former associates, having received the post of lord chamberlain. He died May 5, 1671.

<sup>w</sup> It was alleged that the earl of Essex, Sir William Waller, and other soldiers by profession, wished to protract the war for the sake of their own emolument, and therefore declined to push matters vigorously. Cromwell was known to be the real mover in the affair, and Essex and the Scottish commissioners consulted with Whitelock and others about impeaching him; they, however, abandoned their intention, being doubtful of their power to carry it.

terms of peace; the parliamentary party insist on the abolition of episcopacy and the Liturgy, and the absolute control of the army and navy, and the negotiations are broken off, Feb. 22, without any result.

Montrose suddenly reappears in the field, in January; he ravages the lands of Argyle; defeats him at Inverlochy, Feb. 2; marches to the east coast, plundering Elgin, Aberdeen, and Dundee, but is forced to retire to the Highlands in April.

Armed associations of Clubmen formed, particularly in the southern and western counties, to restrain the plundering and violence of the armies<sup>x</sup>.

The Self-denying Ordinance passed, April 3<sup>y</sup>, which ordains that no member of parliament shall in future hold any office or command, civil or military, granted or conferred by either or both of the Houses, or by any authority derived from them.

The parliamentary army on the new model<sup>z</sup> takes the field. It is composed almost exclusively of Independents, animated by the earnest fanaticism, is under the nominal command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, but the actual leader is Cromwell<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> They professed strict neutrality as to politics, but in reality inclined to the king's party; hence the parliamentary troops treated them as armed enemies.

<sup>y</sup> The earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester laid down their commissions the day before.

<sup>z</sup> The king's party undervalued the new army, calling it in scorn, the "new noddle," but they very soon found it a much more formidable opponent than its predecessor had been. Its strength was 14,000 foot and 7,000 horse and dragoons; the charge was to be £44,955 per month. Fairfax was the general, with Skippon second in command, but he was superseded by Cromwell, and returned to the charge of the London militia.

<sup>a</sup> He was disqualified by the Self-denying Ordinance, but Fairfax obtained its suspension in his favour for a short time, before the

The king marches from Oxford early in May. He relieves Chester, May 15, and captures Leicester, May 31.

Fairfax endeavours to surprise Oxford in the absence of the king, but fails; he then follows the royal army, and totally defeats it at Naseby<sup>b</sup>, (near Market Harborough), June 14. The king flees into Wales.

Carlisle surrenders to the parliament, July 2.

Fairfax marches into the west, and by the relief of Taunton (July 3), the defeat of Goring at Langport (July 10), the capture of Bridgewater (July 23), and Bath (July 30), prevents the Cornish men assisting the royalists.

Montrose reappears in force in May. He defeats the Covenanters at Auldearn (May 9), Alford (July 2), and Kilsyth (Aug. 15), and threatens Glasgow; the Scottish forces in consequence commence their return to Scotland.

The king quits Wales on the approach of the Scots; he crosses the midland counties as far as Huntingdon, and retires to Oxford, Aug. 28.

Hereford unsuccessfully besieged by the Scots, August and September.

Prince Rupert surrenders Bristol after a feeble defence,

expiration of which the battle of Naseby had been fought, and all idea of then removing Cromwell was abandoned. "This was much spoken against by Essex's party," says Whitelock, "as a breach of that ordinance, and a discovery of the intention to continue who they pleased, and to remove the others from commands, notwithstanding their former self-denying pretences; but the Houses judged this fit to be now done." Sir William Brereton, Sir Thomas Middleton, Sir John Price, also members of the Commons, were likewise continued in their commands.

<sup>b</sup> The king's private cabinet was taken, and a number of letters found therein afforded proof of his insincerity in the recent negotiations; they were accordingly published by the parliament.



Sept. 10; the king revokes his commission, and orders him to quit the country<sup>c</sup>.

Montrose, who had advanced to the English border, is totally defeated at Philiphaugh (near Selkirk,) by Lesley, Sept. 13. Montrose and a few others escape, but the prisoners are butchered in cold blood, without any form of trial<sup>d</sup>.

The king attempts in vain to relieve Chester (Sept. 23), passes through Shropshire to Newark, but after a brief stay there, shuts himself up in Oxford, Nov. 5.

A body of the royal cavalry penetrate as far as Dumfries, in order to join Montrose, but, on the news of his flight, return to Carlisle, and disband themselves.

The king opens secret negotiations with the Scots and the Independents, as well as seeking terms of peace from the parliament<sup>e</sup>.

Fairfax and Cromwell continue to capture the royal castles and posts in the south and west.

Persons coming from the king's quarters ordered to declare themselves, or to be treated as spies, Nov. 13.

A.D. 1646. The king renews his applications to the parliament for an accommodation, but they decline to entertain it. The Scots and the Independents, how-

<sup>c</sup> He, however, remained, and assisted in the defence of Oxford.

<sup>d</sup> They were held to be Irish rebels, quarter to whom was expressly forbidden by an ordinance of the English parliament (Oct. 24, 1644). Some women, even, who were taken several days after the battle, were drowned by direction of the preachers.

<sup>e</sup> The intercourse with the Scots was managed by Montreuil, the French ambassador; Major Huntington was the agent with Cromwell. The parliament insisted on harder terms than those demanded at Uxbridge (see p. 436), with which the Scots declared themselves contented; Cromwell and his friends professed an intention of restoring the king to his authority, but probably they already meditated his destruction, which they afterwards accomplished.

ever, carry on negotiations with him, but with evident insincerity.

Chester surrenders to the parliament, Feb. 3, after a long siege.

Fairfax, having entirely subdued the west<sup>f</sup>, approaches Oxford. The king, after applying, without success, to Ireton, leaves the city in disguise, in the night of April 26. He approaches London, then repairs to the coast of Norfolk, but being unable to procure a ship, at length repairs to Kelham, (near Newark,) the head-quarters of the Scottish army, May 5. He is received with outward respect, but is at once required to give orders for the surrender of Newark, and for Montrose to lay down his arms<sup>g</sup>, and is himself urged to take the Covenant.

The parliament consider themselves deceived by the Scots, and threaten hostilities; the Scots vindicate themselves, but retire to Newcastle, taking the king with them<sup>h</sup>.

The royal garrisons yield in quick succession<sup>i</sup>, and the war is for the present ended.

The king's great seal, taken at Oxford, is broken up in the presence of the parliament, Aug. 11.

<sup>f</sup> Lord Hopton, the royal general, agreed (March 14, at Truro) to disband his forces, delivering up his arms and ammunition.

<sup>g</sup> Montrose in consequence embarked for Norway, with a few friends, Sept. 3.

<sup>h</sup> He, while in their hands, maintained a controversy on Church matters with Alexander Henderson, the chief Presbyterian divine, and the papers which passed between them satisfactorily prove not only the king's sincere attachment to the Church, but also his intimate knowledge of the apostolical principle of ecclesiastical discipline.

<sup>i</sup> The king issued his orders to that effect from Newcastle, June 10. Oxford surrendered June 24, Worcester, July 22, Pendennis Castle, Aug. 17, and Raglan Castle, Aug. 19. On the Visitation of Oxford, in violation of the articles of its capitulation, see Notes and Illustrations.

The parliament and the Scots exchange angry letters, and the parliament manifest an intention of expelling their allies.

The Scots offer to withdraw from England on payment of a sum for their services. The amount is, after much contention<sup>j</sup>, fixed at £400,000, one half to be paid before they quit England, and the balance to be secured on "the public faith"<sup>k</sup>.

The parliament send propositions to the king, which he finally declines to discuss, unless allowed to return in safety and honour to Westminster, Dec. 20.

A.D. 1647. The Scots leave Newcastle, and give up the king into the hands of the parliamentary commissioners<sup>l</sup>, Jan. 30; he is removed under a strong guard to his own house at Holmby, in Northamptonshire.

The parliament take steps to disband the army. They resolve to send a portion to Ireland, to reduce the es-

<sup>j</sup> The Scots' commissioners, in August, desired "to have consideration for their losses, hazards, charges, and damage;" this consideration they afterwards stated at £1,000,000 for arrears, "besides losses" to an indefinite amount. They afterwards offered to take £500,000 for the whole, which was ultimately agreed to, but with deductions for free quarter, which reduced it to £400,000.

<sup>k</sup> The money was raised by the sale of the bishops' lands, for which ordinances were passed, Oct. 9, Nov. 16 and 30. The Scots received £100,000 a few days before, and a like sum a few days after, they gave up the king, whence they are often said to have sold him to his enemies; the accuracy of this charge has been questioned, although it cannot be denied that they exhibited a lamentable want of generosity, in taking advantage of the fact, that, although a private negotiation had been carried on with them before he left Oxford, he came to them without a formal promise of protection. Perhaps they felt compelled to act as they did, for the English parliament had by vote declared (Sept. 21) that the disposal of the king belonged exclusively to them, and shewed themselves ready to enforce the claim by arms.

<sup>l</sup> The earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, Lord Montague, Sir James Harrington, Sir John Holland, Sir Walter Earle, Sir John Cooke, Mr. John Crew, and Major-general Brown.

tablishment for England, and to dismiss all officers above the rank of colonel, except Sir Thomas Fairfax, March 8<sup>m</sup>.

Harlech Castle, the last royal post, surrenders, March 30.

The king writes to the parliament, May 12, offering to consent to their propositions regarding religion and the power of the sword; the letter is favourably received.

The king is seized at Holmby-house, by Joyce, a cornet of Fairfax's life-guard, June 4, and carried to Childersley, near Cambridge.

The army take a solemn engagement at Newmarket, June 5, refusing to be disbanded. The parliamentary commissioners visit them at Triplo-w-heath (June 10), and endeavour in vain to break their union.

The marquis of Huntley is obliged to lay down his arms in Scotland, June.

The marquis of Ormond makes an agreement with the

<sup>m</sup> This blow was aimed at Cromwell and the other Independents, but the Presbyterian party soon discovered that they had conquered their sovereign only to find fresh masters. Fairfax was prevailed on to move the army from the centre of England to Saffron Walden, with the manifest intention of overawing the parliament. The troops demanded payment of their arrears, provision for the wounded, and for widows and orphans, and an ordinance of indemnity. The parliament at first took a high tone, and threatened them as "disturbers of the public peace" (March 29), but this made matters worse. The soldiers established a kind of parliament of their own, and unanimously resolved neither to be disbanded nor to take service in Ireland until their demands were conceded. The parliament now tried to soothe them by passing the ordinance of indemnity (May 21), and issuing a portion of their arrears. This did not avail. The soldiers combined still more closely together, compelled the parliament to withdraw their offensive declaration, and seeing a probability of the Presbyterians and the royalists uniting against them, they broke all their measures by seizing the person of the king.

parliamentary commanders (June 19), and withdraws from Ireland. The Romanists continue the contest, and offer the sovereignty of the island to foreign powers.

The parliament order London to be fortified, and forbid the nearer approach of the army; the soldiers impeach eleven members<sup>a</sup> of treason, and march to Uxbridge (June 25), when the parliament give way, exclude the obnoxious members, demolish the new fortifications, and appoint commissioners to treat for full satisfaction to the army.

The army offer to replace the king on the throne, on certain conditions, but he refuses them.

Fairfax advances towards London, and is joined by Lenthall, the speaker, and several of the members of the parliament; he enters London without opposition, Aug. 6; the Houses reassemble, and after some opposition from the Presbyterians, all the votes hostile to the army are rescinded.

The king is placed at Hampton Court, and is treated with much attention by the army; he, however, enters into a design of the Scots and others to invade England; this is discovered by the army, and he is treated as a prisoner. His fears are excited by the fierce denunciations of the Levellers<sup>o</sup>, and he escapes from Hampton

<sup>a</sup> They were Sir John Clotworthy, Mr. Glyn, Col. Harley, Denzil Holles, Sir William Lewis, Colonel Long, Major-general Massey, Sir John Maynard, Mr. Nichols, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Sir William Waller. Holles, Long, and Stapleton retired to France, where Stapleton died very shortly after his landing at Calais; the others were allowed to withdraw to their own houses.

<sup>o</sup> These men, who formed a very large proportion of the army, professed the most exalted ideas of freedom, and scorned to be bound by any existing mode of government in Church or State. They advocated a republic of the wildest kind, and looking on the king as a serious obstacle to their plans, they spoke of him as Ahab,

Court, Nov. 12; he seeks refuge with Colonel Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, and is placed by him in Carisbrooke Castle, Nov. 14.

Cromwell endeavours to curb the Levellers, but fails; he then comes to an agreement with them.

The king renews his offers for an accommodation to the parliament, Nov. 16; they are not attended to, and he negotiates anew with the Scots.

The parliament at length offer four propositions<sup>p</sup> to the king, as the basis of a personal treaty, Dec. 24; the Scots offer less onerous terms, and he refuses his assent, Dec. 28; he on the same day endeavours to escape from Carisbrooke Castle, but is prevented<sup>q</sup>.

A.D. 1648. The parliament, under the coercion of the army, declare they will no more treat with the king, nor allow others to do so, under the penalty of treason.

The king publishes an appeal to the people against this vote. It is favourably received, and Colonel Poyer, a parliamentary officer, hoists the royal standard at Pembroke. He is joined by other officers, as also by the

and openly demanded his blood. Their fanaticism was fanned by the outrageous discourses of Hugh Peters, a preacher. He was born at Fowey, in Cornwall, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, but was expelled for his immoral life; he then became a stage-player, yet after a while obtained ordination from Bishop Montaigne, and was lecturer at St. Sepulchre's, London, but was expelled from this office also, and fled to Holland. Returning on the breaking out of the civil war, he acted as a military chaplain. Peters was a leading man among the Anabaptists during the Commonwealth, and at length was executed as a regicide, October 19, 1660.

<sup>p</sup> These required, that the militia should be placed at their disposal; that the king's declarations against the parliament should be withdrawn; that the peerages bestowed since the commencement of the war should be set aside; and, lastly, that the Houses should be adjourned only with their own consent.

<sup>q</sup> Captain Burley, a royalist, who attempted to get up a rising in the island to favour this project, was seized and executed.

royalists, and is at first successful ; Cromwell marches against him, and after a six weeks' siege, captures Pembroke, and crushes the movement<sup>r</sup>.

Tumults occur in London and many other places, and an army is raised in Kent, in favour of the king.

The duke of Hamilton induces the Scots to espouse the royal cause.

The young duke of York escapes from St. James's, April 22.

The Kentish rising occurs, May 23 ; six ships of war in the Downs mount the king's flag, and repair to Holland. The prince of Wales takes the command, and appears in the Thames with a fleet of nineteen ships, early in July<sup>s</sup>.

Fairfax defeats the Kentish men at Maidstone, June 1 ; a party of them, under the earl of Norwich (George Goring), endeavour to enter London, but being foiled by the vigilance of Skippon, retire into Essex, and occupy Colchester.

The Scots enter England, July 5, where Berwick and Carlisle are in the hands of the royalists under Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Cromwell and Lambert advance, and totally defeat them near Preston, Aug. 17 ; the duke of Hamilton is captured at Uttoxeter, Aug. 20, but Langdale conceals himself in London.

The earl of Holland appears in arms at Kingston,

<sup>r</sup> The principal leaders were obliged to cast lots for their lives ; the lot fell on Poyer, and he was shot at London, after a long imprisonment, April 25, 1649.

<sup>s</sup> His forces landed at Deal, and occupied the castle for a time ; but it was found impossible to reach the Isle of Wight, as had been intended.

July 5, he is defeated and put to flight, July 7, and captured at St. Neot's, July 10.

Fairfax captures Colchester, Aug. 28; Sir George Lisle and Sir Charles Lucas, two of the prisoners, are shot by sentence of a court-martial, Aug. 29; the earl of Norwich and Lord Capel are reserved for trial.

The prince's fleet retires to Holland, at the end of August, without attempting to rescue the king.

On the proposition of the Peers, negotiations are resumed with the king. They were opened at Newport, Sept. 18, and continued until Nov. 27, when the king agreed to most of the terms demanded<sup>t</sup>.

The marquis of Ormond returns to Ireland, Sept. 29.

Cromwell advances into Scotland, in September, and disperses some new levies of the royalists; he retakes Berwick, and Carlisle, and returns to London, Dec. 7.

The Levellers, while the negotiations are carried on, demand the blood of the king more vehemently than before; he is seized at Newport, by order of the council of the army, Nov. 30, and imprisoned in Hurst Castle.

The council of officers publish a declaration accusing the parliament of perfidy, and desire all well-affected members to resort to them, Nov. 30. At the same time several regiments march into London.

<sup>t</sup> These were, to leave the militia at the disposal of the parliament; to leave also the reduction of Ireland in their hands; to pass an act of oblivion; to abolish episcopacy, take the Covenant, and receive the Assembly of Divines and the Directory. The political propositions the king agreed to; he also consented to allow, for a limited period, of the Assembly and the Directory, but he refused to subscribe the Covenant, or to deny the divine origin of episcopacy, though he was willing, probably from deference to the views of Archbishop Usher, to strip bishops of their property, and to be satisfied with a bare recognition of an inherent difference between their order and that of presbyters.